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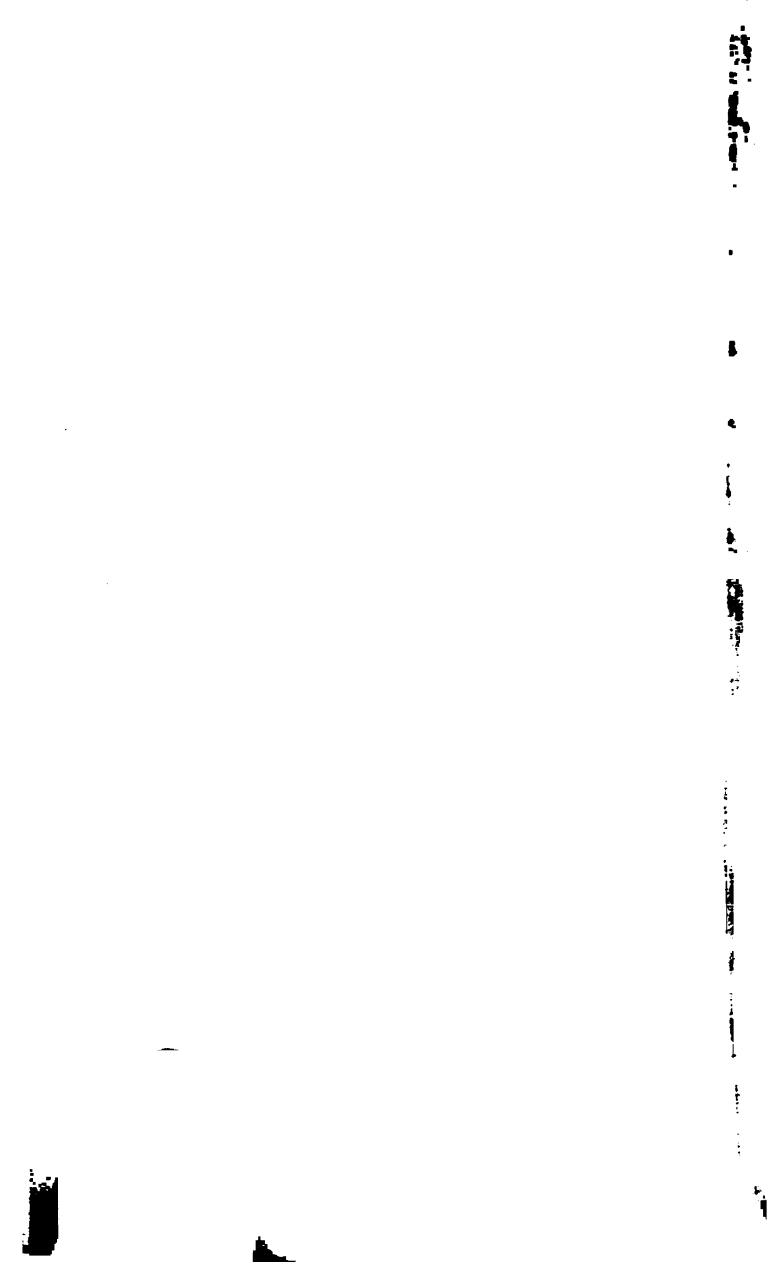
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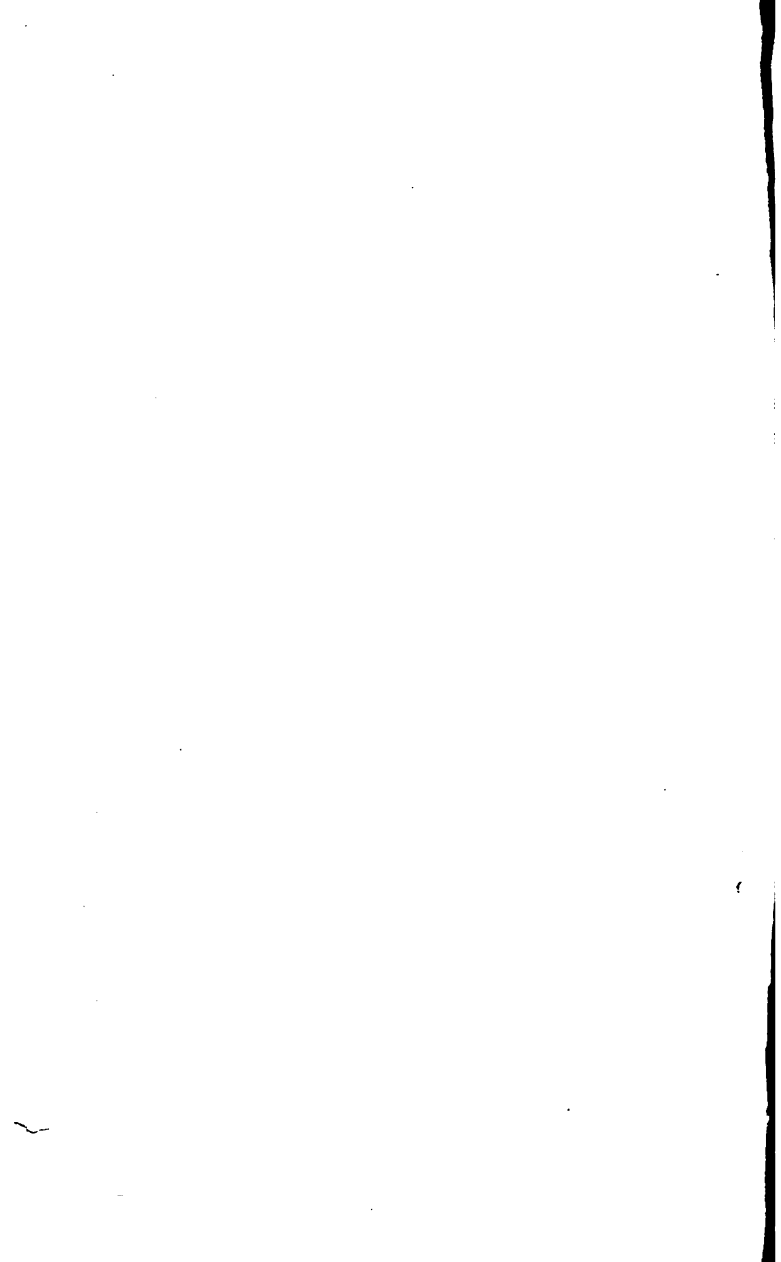
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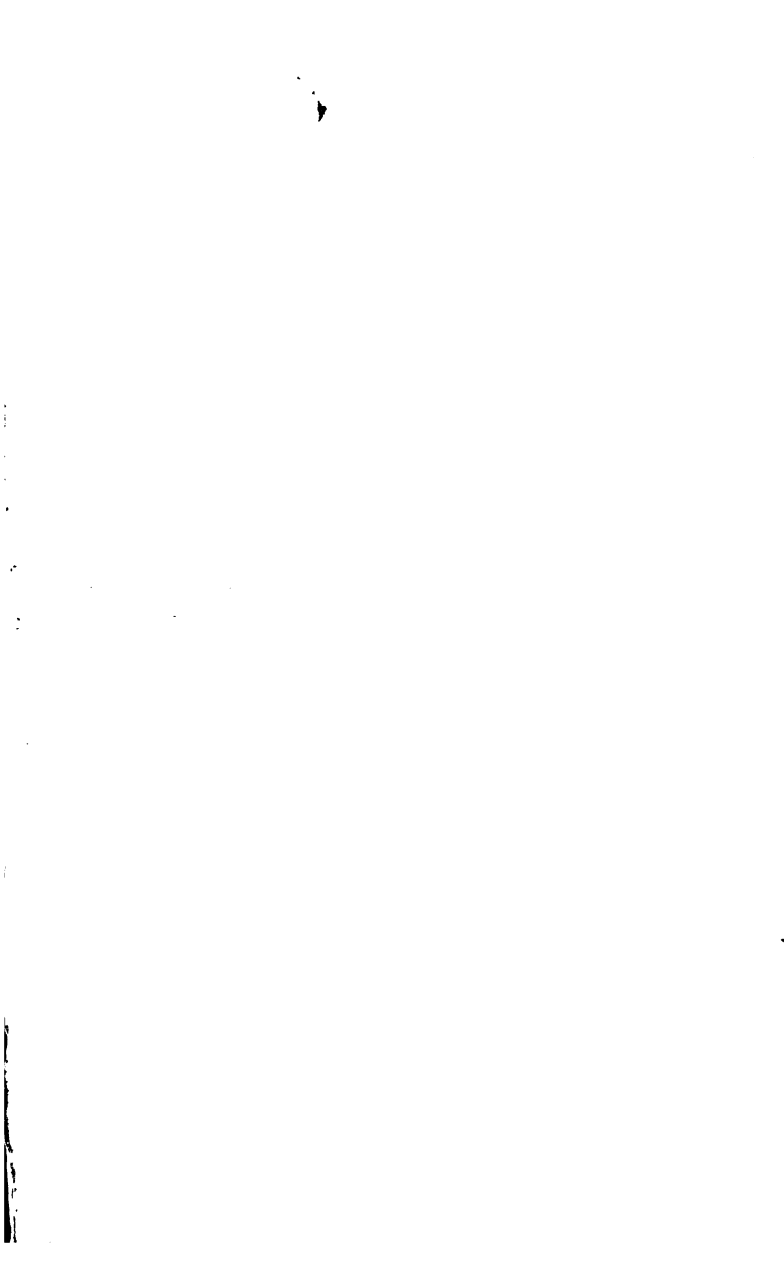
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ANCIENT AND MODERN

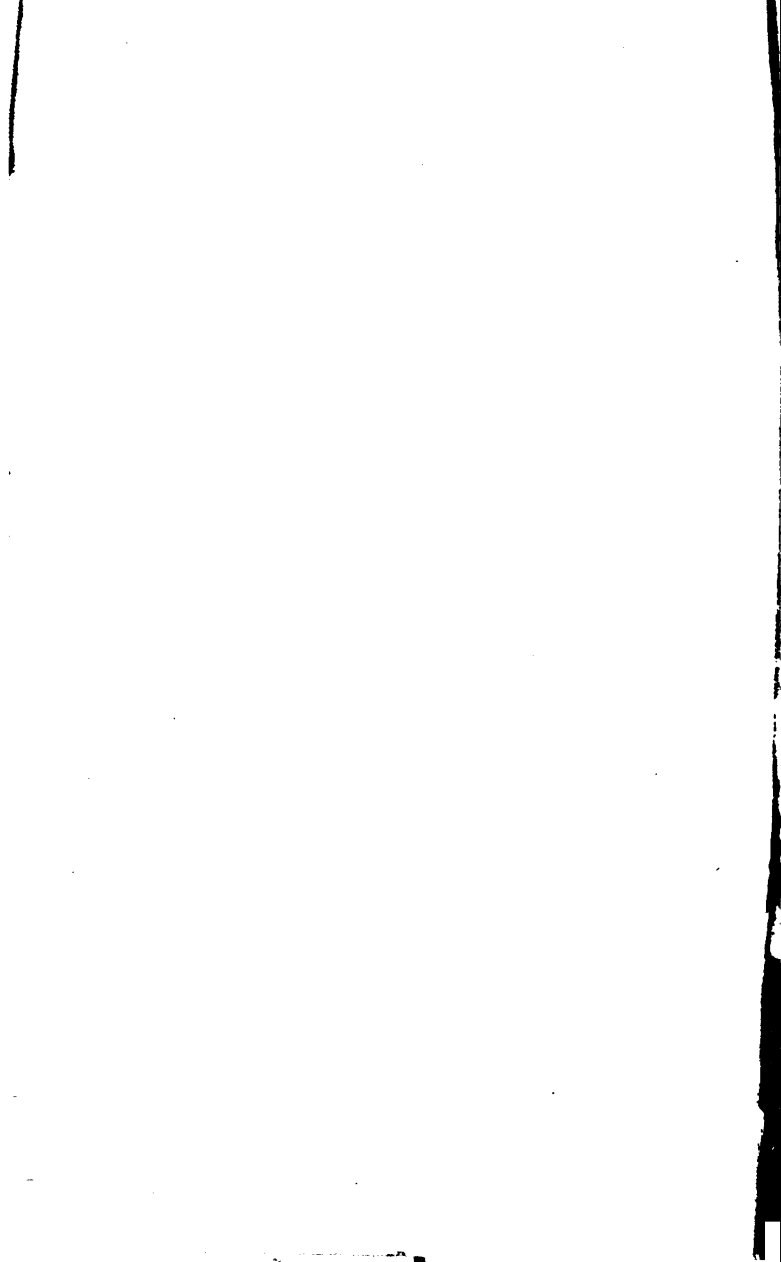
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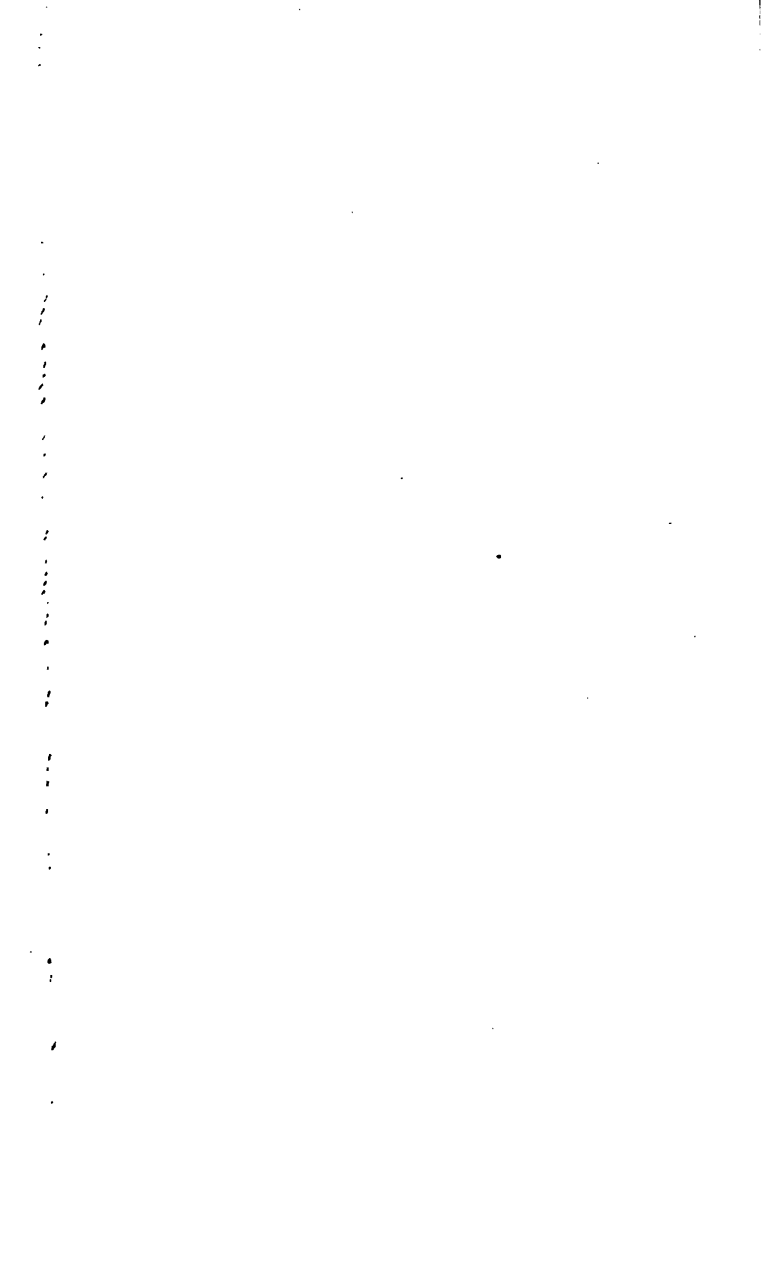




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ETONIANA

ANCIENT AND MODERN



5

ETONIANA

ANCIENT AND MODERN

BEING NOTES OF THE

HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF

ETON COLLEGE

REPUBLISHED FROM 'BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE'

WITH ADDITIONS

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Nov. 12, 1925

PREFACE.

THESE pages may perhaps meet with some indulgence from Eton men and from the general public, as being the first attempt (so far as I am aware) to collect the history and traditions of our greatest public school. The collection is fragmentary and imperfect; and although some pains have been taken to avoid errors, too many will probably be found.

But these few words of preface have another object than apology. They give me the opportunity of expressing my lively sense of the courtesy and kindness with which Etonians, old and young (to most of whom I was personally unknown), have helped me in my work—without which help this little volume could not have been put together. I can heartily endorse the words of one of the Royal

Commissioners' witnesses—I have found Eton men “very pleasant to deal with.”

To the PROVOST of ETON my thanks are especially due, not only for permission to consult some of the College records, but also for valuable notes and extracts most kindly made from such of them as I had not opportunity to examine. Amongst the many others to whom I am indebted, I may be allowed here to name ROBERT CRAWFURD, Esq.; the Rev. THOMAS BROCKLEBANK; EDMOND WARRE, Esq.; HENRY STAPYLTON, Esq. (whose ‘Eton Lists’ have been most useful as a reference, and who has obliged me with much information besides); the Rev. WALTER S. HALLIDAY, and GEORGE GILBERT TREHERNE, Esq. The most interesting pages of ‘Etoniana’ will be those in which some of my correspondents are allowed to speak in their own words. I most willingly say to each, speaking for such parts of my little book, “*Si placeo, tuum est.*”

While acknowledging the value of such assistance, I desire to be held alone responsible for any statement of fact or opinion.

W. L. C.

July 1865.

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ETONIANA, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

CHAPTER I.

THE foundation of a college for the perpetual celebration of divine service, and for the education of youth, had been, almost from boyhood, a favourite project of Henry VI. A king at nine months old, he was nevertheless kept under tutors and governors with more than ordinary strictness. This had, no doubt, much influence on his future character: Henry of Windsor grew up a scholar and a devotee, very unlike the warlike Plantagenets from whom he sprang. Trained under his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, he had been a frequent visitor at Wykeham's College in that city;

and this he made the model for his own future foundation. As soon as he found himself a king in something more than in name, he lost no time in carrying out his long-cherished idea. In 1441, the nineteenth year of his age and reign, he granted his first charter of foundation to "The King's College of our Lady of Eton beside Wyndesor:" having previously purchased the advowson of the old parish church of Eton for the purpose of making it the chapel of his new society. In the same year was laid the first stone of the new buildings, which were ordered to be of "the hard stone of Kent," and of other material "the most substantial and the best abiding." Architects, in those days, were most commonly found among churchmen: the master of the works at Eton was Roger Keyes, who had been warden of All Souls College, and had successfully superintended the buildings there. But the wardenship of All Souls was not then the dignified and lucrative post which it is at present; for he resigned it, at King Henry's request, to undertake the new charge at Eton. He received, in acknowledgment of his services (no doubt besides other more substantial payment), a patent of nobility and a grant of arms—per chevron gules and sable, three *keys*, or. Arms were also assigned to

the college: a field of sable, the permanency of which colour might be an augury of its duration; three white lilies blazoned upon it (typical also of the Virgin) should represent the "bright flowers redolent of all the sciences" which were to spring there; while, in order "to impart somewhat of royal dignity"—so the grant ran—the fleur-de-lys—"flos Francorum"—and the leopard passant of England were to be borne in chief.

Workmen, horses, and carriages were impressed under royal warrant, and within two years the new buildings were in a sufficiently forward state to receive their first occupants. In 1443, William of Waynflete, who had already been schoolmaster at Winchester for eleven years, migrated, no doubt at the King's request, to Eton, where he had been appointed to the same office, but (apparently before any school was opened) was advanced to the higher dignity of its first provost. The provost originally named was Henry Sever, afterwards warden of Merton College; but, saving a grant of two hogsheads (*dolia*) of "red Gascon wine" from the King, he seems never to have entered upon the duties or the privileges of the office. With Waynflete came five fellows and (apparently) four clerks, and thirty-five scholars, from Winches-

ter. They were installed in their new home by Thomas Beckington, who had just been consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells : he celebrated his first mass in the unfinished new church of St Mary, and afterwards presided at an entertainment within the college buildings, temporarily fitted up for the purpose. The Pope's especial interest was secured for the new foundation. In 1447 he granted indulgences to all who should visit "the College of our Lady of Eton" at the coming feast of the Assumption ; and certain persons who had been convicted of high treason were pardoned by King Henry on that ground.

The original charter had contemplated a provost, ten fellows, four clerks, a schoolmaster, with thirty-five scholars only, and six choristers. A subsequent charter enlarged the foundation to seventy scholars (the number still preserved) and sixteen choristers. The statutable number of fellows was not long maintained, probably owing to a deficiency of funds ; they very soon decreased to four, and have never since exceeded seven in number.

The qualifications of the scholars are set down in the statutes nearly word for word the same as at Winchester. They were to be admitted for the purpose of studying grammar. They were to be

poor and in need of help, not less than eight or more than ten years old, not of servile birth (*nativi*) or illegitimate. They were to be chosen, 1st, from families who resided on the college estates; 2dly, from Buckinghamshire or Cambridgeshire; 3dly, from elsewhere within the realm. The choristers were to be preferred in the election of scholars, if found competent. All were to receive the first tonsure at the proper age; and none were to remain in the college after the age of eighteen, unless their names had been placed on the roll of succession to the "King's College," founded by Henry at Cambridge in the same year. To that foundation, the elder sister of Eton, as New College in Oxford is of Winchester, they were to move off by seniority, if found qualified, as vacancies occurred.

The arrangement of the college buildings was also very much on the Winchester model. The provost, the fellows, and the head-master were each to have single chambers; the lower-master or usher (*ostiarius*), the chaplains and clerks, were to be lodged two together. All these occupied the upper storey. The scholars were assigned rooms on the ground floor; and it was specially enjoined that no occupant of the chambers above should throw out wine or beer—or anything worse—on the heads

of those below. In each of the boys' chambers three selected scholars, of ripe years, discretion, and learning, were to keep rule over their companions and report cases of misconduct. All above fourteen years old were to sleep in single beds. Neither masters nor scholars were to indulge in any such fashionable vanities as "red, green, or white boots;" or to keep within the college precincts dogs or nets or ferrets, or—what would have seemed less likely—any bears or apes, or other "rare beast, of no profit." The master (*informator*) was to be well skilled in grammar, a Master of Arts, if such might be conveniently had, and unmarried. He was to have an annual salary of twenty-four marks (£16), with £4, 6s. 8d. for his commons; and to sit at the fellows' table, taking precedence of them (excepting the vice-provost) if he was of superior degree. The usher was to have ten marks (£6, 13s. 4d.), with £3, 0s. 3d. for commons, and to mess with the chaplains and clerks. Both were to have gowns furnished them, which they were on no account to sell or pledge.

The King endowed his new foundation chiefly out of the estates and rents of the alien priories, which had recently come into the possession of the Crown. Tithes, lands, and rent-charges in England

had from time to time been bestowed by the Norman conquerors upon foreign convents, who established cells or priories on the spot. But the revenues were in most cases transmitted to the mother-house in Normandy; and during the repeated wars with France, they had been not unfrequently confiscated, as an enemy's possessions, by the English kings, while hostilities lasted, and restored again during intervals of peace. The Parliament under Henry V. had finally dissolved them; and his successor made a noble use of great part of their endowments. The great Benedictine abbey of Bec in Normandy—which had given two archbishops, Lanfranc and Anselm, to the English Church—had very large possessions in England, and several alien priories dependent on it: among these were Okebourne in Wiltshire, and Weedon-Bec in Northamptonshire, both of which were bestowed by Henry upon his new colleges: the possessions of the former priory forming the great bulk of the endowment of King's and Eton. Besides these, grants were made of lands and rents which had formerly belonged to Clugny, Lucerne, Pont Adomar, and other Norman abbeys. The ground on which St James' Palace (then St James' Hospital) now stands was formerly among the college

possessions, but Henry VIII. exchanged it with them for certain rectories in Kent and Suffolk.

The ties which connected Eton with its mother college of Winchester were sought to be strengthened, the year after its foundation—probably with some forecasting of troublous days to come—by a solemn instrument of alliance known as the “*Amicabilis Concordia*.” Reciting the common objects and common interests of the two societies—“one in spirit and intent, though divided in locality”—it pledges them to a mutual defence of each other’s rights and privileges, and an interchange of kindly offices for ever—“*mutua et perpetua caritas*.” The obligations of the bond have, perhaps, never been formally claimed; but we may fairly hope that it has never been broken in the spirit.

The troublous days soon came for Eton: it suffered heavily by the fall of its royal founder. Edward of York had no kind feeling for the nursing of a Lancastrian king. He would have merged the new foundation altogether in the College of St George at Windsor, and had obtained a bull to that effect from Pius II. But the provost, William of Westbury, made so energetic and successful a resistance, that in the end the King gave up his intention, and the *Bulla Unionis*, which would have

been fatal to the name and existence of Eton College, was annulled by the succeeding Pope. Provost Westbury's courageous defence has won for him the name of the "Camillus of Eton." But the college lost a considerable portion of its estates and revenues, and never regained its original wealth. A letter of Archbishop Laud's speaks of this crisis of its fortunes as an actual "dissolution." For seven years after the triumph of the Yorkists (1459-1466) there was no regular election of scholars from Eton to King's College; for that also had been all but dissolved—all the scholars, and a great majority of the fellows, having been expelled.

When times became more settled, however, Eton grew and prospered. Provision had been made in the statutes for the reception of other boys for education besides the seventy foundation scholars. Sons of the nobility and of "powerful persons, special friends or benefactors to the college," were directed to be admitted, up to the number of twenty, to share the instruction in grammar which could not be obtained so well or so readily elsewhere. They were to be boarded and lodged within the walls, at their own expense, so as not to be burdensome to the college; but there is no reason to suppose that they paid for

their tuition otherwise than by voluntary presents to the master. Sometimes they lodged in college and sometimes out—probably according to the number resident. It seems that, as at Winchester, there were two classes of these boys—“*generosorum filii commensales*,” and simple “*commensales*”—corresponding to the “gentleman-commoner” and “commoner” of Oxford; the former probably of higher social rank, paying more for their commons, and dining at a separate table. The royal founder plainly contemplated, from the very first, that a large number of independent students would flock to his new college. By a protective enactment which we should now call barbarous and illiberal, he forbade any school to be opened within ten miles of Eton. He also made a grant of all the houses, public and private, within the town and parish of Eton, to the provost and fellows of the college, to serve as lodgings for such scholars as should resort there for the teaching of the school, or for other persons having business of any kind with the college: and the inhabitants were to entertain no stranger but by the provost’s permission.

The earliest of these original “oppidans” of whom any personal record is to be found, is William Paston, younger son of Sir John, of

Paston in Norfolk. He was at Eton as early as 1467; and in the well-known series of the Paston Letters, is one from him—the earliest letter of an Eton schoolboy known to be extant. In some points it is very like what an Eton schoolboy's letter might be now; he thanks his elder brother for money which has been sent him from home—8d. to buy a pair of slippers, and 13s. 4d. to pay his “dame” (“hostess” he calls her) for his board; also for 12 lb. of raisins and 8 lb. of figs, which, however, had not yet arrived, but were on their way “in another barge.” But the main subject of the letter shows a more than Etonian precocity. He had fallen in love. That of itself might not be remarkable; but the boy was actually contemplating matrimony in the most prosaic and businesslike way. He had met the object of his affections at her sister's wedding in Eton, to which he had been taken by “mine hostess,” on which occasion the young lady, by her mother's command, had “made him good cheer.” They lived, when at home, in London, in Bow Churchyard. The whole letter has been more than once reprinted, but the conclusion is too curious to be omitted here :—

“The name of the daughter is Margaret Alborow.

The age of her is, by all likelihood, 18 or 19 years at the farthest; and as for the money and plate, it is ready whensoever she were wedded; but as for the livelihood, I trow not till after the mother's decease; but I cannot tell you for very certain, but you may know by inquiring.

"And as for her beauty, judge you that when you see her, if so be that you take the labour, and specially behold her hands; for an if it be as it is told me, she is disposed to be thick."

What was the end of this cautious romance—whether the "livelihood" was not forthcoming, or whether the lady's hands turned out to be too thick—does not appear in the Paston chronicles. It may be fair to say that Master William Paston had learnt French and poetry of a foreign tutor—one Karol Giles, a Lombard—before he went to Eton. But if he did not succeed in his courtship better than he did in his Latin verses, he had very little chance of a wife.

"As for my coming from Eton, I lack nothing but versifying, which I trust to have with a little continuance.

Quare, quomodo. Non valet hora, valet mora.

Arbore jam videas exemplum; non die possunt
Omnia suppleri, sed tamen illa mora.

And these two verses aforesaid be of mine own making."

And if Mr Clement Smyth, who was then head-master of Eton, had anything in him of the spirit of Keate or Hawtrey, we know what inevitably followed.

Of the early masters the records are scanty and defective. Such lists as have been preserved do not correspond, and are more or less incomplete. The fullest which we have been able to find is given by Cole amongst his MSS.: it contains some names not included by Ackerman in that which he obtained from the college records. Cole's list was copied from the papers of Dr Richardson, master of Emmanuel College, who, as he fairly complains, never gives his authorities; and Cole himself is by no means accurate in some of his own additions. Waynflete, when he became provost, was succeeded in the mastership of the school by William Westbury. The names which follow during the next two centuries have left little other memorial behind them. Scarcely any held the office longer than for a few years. Several accepted the then more distinguished and more lucrative post of head-master of Winchester. Clement Smyth must have been more than ordinarily fond of change; he was

master of Eton from 1453 to 1457, when he resigned on being elected fellow of the college; afterwards he went as head-master to Winchester for two years, when he came back again to his desk at Eton, where he taught for six years more. William Horman and Thomas Erlysmen exchanged to Winchester also.

It was under Richard Cockys, or Coxe (1528-1535), that the school seems first to have risen to any high repute. He was chosen by Cranmer as tutor to the young King Edward VI., and some of the best English scholars were trained under him at Eton. Walter Haddon, successively master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and of Magdalen College, Oxford, one of the great revivers of classical scholarship in England, was then a scholar on the foundation, and one of Coxe's favourite pupils; he always retained the greatest respect for his early teacher, addressing him as "master" whenever they met in after life. Coxe was advanced to the deanery of Christchurch (of which house he had been one of the fellows on Wolsey's original foundation), and is recorded, with some feeling of scandal, to have been the first who brought a wife to live within the walls of a college. He subsequently became Bishop of Ely, and lies buried in

the cathedral there. His Latin epitaph (no longer to be seen) ended with one of the punning conceits which found favour in those days :—

“ In terrâ Christi *Gallus* Christum resonabam ;
Da, Christe, in cœlis te sine fine sonam.”

He was succeeded at Eton by Nicholas Udall (or Woodall)—“ the best schoolmaster and the greatest beater of our day,” said Haddon, who probably suffered under him after Coxe’s resignation. Another of his pupils, Thomas Tusser, author of the ‘ Husbandry,’ has left his testimony in his quaint fashion to the same effect—

“ From Paul’s I went, to Eton sent,
To learn straightways the Latin phrase,
Where fifty-three stripes given to me
At once I had ;
For fault thus small, or none at all,
It came to pass thus beat I was ;
See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee
To me, poor lad !”

Udall was a good scholar, however, and whether by means of his whippings or in spite of them, raised the school considerably. He combined with his more serious duties, occasionally, those of stage-manager to Queen Mary’s private theatricals. A letter from her Majesty to her master of the revels recites that Nicholas Udall “ hath shown his diligence in setting forth of dialogues and enterludes

before us for our regal disport and recreation," and directs that such dresses as he might require in getting up some contemplated entertainment of the kind should be supplied him from the royal wardrobes. The last account to be found of him at Eton leaves him under a very grave imputation. He was suspected of being concerned, with two of his scholars, in stealing the college plate. They were examined before the council, but the result does not appear. "He came near losing his place," we are told, even if he did not lose it; for the year of the appointment of his successor, Smyth, in some of the lists, coincides very suspiciously with the date of this transaction. However, he was subsequently in the service of Queen Catherine Parr, then a canon of Windsor, and, after an interval of thirteen years, is found again in his old occupation, as head-master of Westminster School.

It was long before a head-master of Eton found his position one of sufficient dignity or profit to look upon it as a provision for life, still less as a step to ecclesiastical preferment. It was by no means the rule—perhaps it was rather the exception—for those who held the office to be in holy orders. Reuben Sherwood (1571) retired to practise as a physician at Bath; another soon after,

Thomas Ridley, said to have excelled in *meliorē literatura*, was knighted, and became a Master in Chancery. The custom of marrying, though in direct contravention of the statutes, gradually crept in after the Reformation. William Barker (though omitted in most lists) was certainly master in 1549, and had a wife, which led to some remonstrance—apparently unsuccessful. It was perhaps the scandal raised on this ground which drew forth a letter of explanation from the vice-provost to Sir Thomas Smith, the provost, assuring him that the report “that the master of the school is a dice-player,” and otherwise disreputable, is untrue.

Royal visits to Eton, in these earlier years, were either few, or have not been publicly recorded. It is said that Henry VII. was educated there, but the tradition rests on the very slenderest foundation. When he escorted Philip of Castile “toward the sea-side” on his return home in 1505, the two kings passed through Windsor—“all the children of Eaton standing along the barres of the church yeard.” Henry VIII. paid a visit there in July 1510; when he offered 13s. 4d. on the altar of St Mary, and gave “to the schoolmaster and children 66s. 8d.”

CHAPTER II.

THE Reformation seems to have worked no material change at Eton. It escaped Henry's edict against collegiate establishments (which, if carried into execution, would have involved the dissolution of both Eton and Winchester) by the death of the King before the Act had been generally applied, and 'the passing of a statute of exemption immediately on the accession of Edward VI. It gave its martyrs to the great cause under Mary. John Hullier on Jesus Green at Cambridge, Laurence Saunders and Robert Glover at Coventry—all three fellows of King's—were burnt to death for their faith. It would seem as though Queen Mary had made some attempt to give a Romanist bias to the college under colour of increasing the fellows to the statutable number of ten; for in 1554, the first year of her reign, four additional names appear all at once at the fellows' table—Mr Pauley, Mr Cole, Mr

Hargat, and Mr Biseley.* Cole (soon made provost) was a bigoted Catholic, and preached at Cranmer's execution. Two new names occur also in the same year at the second table, among the "*sacellani et clerici*," and one is that of Bonner—probably the notorious bishop.

Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession, the Eton scholars presented her Majesty with specimens of their Latin versification. The little volume which contains them is still in existence, in excellent preservation, amongst the royal MSS.† Though it has no date, the names of the writers mark the year sufficiently. The verses are very much better than Master Paston's distich quoted above; in fact, of not much inferior quality, and very superior penmanship, to what an average modern Etonian might be expected to produce. The sentiments are of the usual loyal and complimentary kind; but the key-note is the wish thus worded by one of the young writers:—

"Dī tibi dent natos, exoptatumque maritum;
Dī faxint nati ut sint similesque tui."

No less than forty-five boys were sufficiently advanced to contribute a "copy," though some few

* "Rysley" in the *Registrum Regale*.

† 12 A. lxx.

do not adventure beyond two lines ; for instance, Osmund Lakes excuses his shortcomings as follows :

“Vive, precor, Regina potens ; pro munere tantum
Hoc possum dare et hoc—Vive, valeque simul !”

A visitation of the college was made under Elizabeth by Archbishop Parker and other commissioners, Sept. 1561. The oath of supremacy was tendered to certain of the fellows who were suspected of being unfavourable to the new order of things. Thomas Kirton, John Ashbrook, and Richard Pratt did not appear, and were declared contumacious ; John Durston distinctly refused to take the oath ;—and all were removed from their fellowships. Richard Brewarne, the provost, after vainly challenging the visitors’ jurisdiction, resigned to avoid a like sentence. The master at the time was William Malim (who had been previously master of St Paul’s School) and the usher’s name was Wilkinson.

Of the internal economy and daily life of the college at this date, it so happens that we have very minute information. In the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a curious MS. which Huggett* has copied amongst his papers, and which

* Roger Huggett, to whose manuscript compilations, now in the British Museum Library, all writers upon Eton have

has since been printed by Sir Edward Creasy. It is styled "*Consuetudinarium Vetus Scholæ Etonensis*," and was drawn up about 1560, probably by Malim as head-master. It gives in full detail the work for each day in the week, with the annual holidays and customs of the school. The old Winchester system was still in full operation, and many of the regulations are identical with those of the mother college at the same date. Like Wykeham's scholars, the Eton boys rose at five, said their Latin prayers antiphonally while dressing, then made their own beds and swept out their chambers. Two by two they then "went down" to wash, probably at some outdoor conduit or fountain like the old Winchester "*Moab*." At six,

been much indebted, was one of the chaplains or "conducts" of the college for twenty-five years, 1738 to 1763, and during a great part of that time must have been a sore thorn in the sides of the authorities. He complained—certainly not without reason—of their neglect of the statutes, by which the interests both of the chaplains and of the scholars had suffered; a point upon which he more than once preferred formal articles of remonstrance. He also complained that the statutes themselves were kept as secret as possible, and that no copy of them was generally accessible; at last he seems to have "borrowed" a copy, without leave, which he carefully transcribed. But he was probably a somewhat troublesome personage, and inclined to make the most of private grievances; one of his repeated complaints is that, in the course of some alterations, a part of his room had been pulled down "to make a pompous staircase for Dr Ashton, the bursar."

the under-master came into school, read prayers there, and the day's work began. There were seven "forms," the seventh being the highest. The fifth, sixth, and seventh composed the upper school, under the head-master; the fourth held an intermediate position; and the three lower forms were the under-master's department. They seem to have worked continuously from six o'clock until past nine, when there was an interval of an hour; then they had prayers at ten, and went to dinner at eleven; but there is no mention whatever made of anything like breakfast. From twelve to three came school again; then, after an hour's interval, school from four to five, at which hour seems to have come supper, though no direct mention is made of any such meal; but supper they certainly had. They were at work again, under the superintendence of monitors, from six to eight, with a slight interval for "bever," as at Winchester, which refectation was probably nothing more than a draught of small beer and a piece of bread. At eight they went to bed. The allowance of play-hours seems, as in all early school regulations, to have been lamentably small. Of course there were holidays and half-holidays; but they seem only to have recurred upon the Church festivals and commemorations

of certain benefactors, such as Provosts Bost and Lupton ; but it is probable that there was also some relaxation on Tuesdays and Thursdays, as at Winchester. On May 6 (St John *ante Port. Lat.*), they had the singular privilege of *going to sleep* in school after dinner for two or three hours ; and what between the early rising and the close work, it was an indulgence likely to be better appreciated by those early Etonians than by their more luxurious successors at the present day. There was very little liberty allowed them out of the college precincts ; only on the 1st of May, if the weather was fine (for there was a special warning not to wet their feet), to gather the green boughs to deck the windows of their chambers, and on September 8 (Nativity of the Virgin), when they went out into the woods to gather nuts, with which it was the custom to present the masters, accompanied by copies of verses in celebration of the bounties of autumn. On the great festivals also, when the elder boys received the Holy Sacrament, they had permission to spend part of the day in a country walk ; not without a strong caution (so similar are the temptations of schoolboys and the anxieties of masters in all ages) against turning into taverns and beer-shops by the way. The “ Tap ” and the “ Christo-

pher" had their earlier prototypes. Both in and out of school they were under the rule of their præpostors (*præpositi*)—the elder boys who were intrusted with authority, on Wykeham's principle, in each of the chambers. It would seem that at this time there were four; of whom the senior in authority was called, as he is to this day at Winchester, "Prefect of Hall," and the two next "Prefects of Chapel." There was also one whose special business it was to see that the younger boys kept their hands and faces clean, and their persons generally tidy: a superintendence by no means unnecessary, and which the Winchester prefects of modern days do not think it beneath them to enforce. Besides the college prefects, there were two prefects of oppidans: and as the number of oppidans at this date seems to have ranged between thirty and forty, the proportion would be about the same, if the college prefects were four.

The books in use were, in the higher forms, Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Martial, Catullus, Florus, Cæsar, and the Offices and Letters of Cicero; in the lower, Terence and Ovid. The first form were worked chiefly in the Latin exercise book of Ludovicus Vives. Greek was not taught at all beyond the grammar, and that only in the two highest

forms. The Fables of Æsop and the Dialogues of Lucian were used, but as it was only by the second and third forms, these must have been read in a Latin translation. Themes and verses were largely practised; and collections of phrases, synonyms, descriptions, &c., made, probably in note-books, from the lessons of each day. Compositions in English verse, chiefly translations from the Latin poets, were occasionally allowed. From St Thomas's (Dec. 21) to the Epiphany, the regular classical work of the school was laid aside, and the boys were practised in writing. Their classical knowledge was kept up meanwhile by a system of mutual examination, which seems to have somewhat resembled the Westminster challenge; and epigrams, verses, and other voluntary compositions were expected to be produced. At Christmas-time there were public speeches or theatrical performances (the pieces being selected by the head-master), to which strangers were invited. These were got up with some care and attention to scenic display, and the whole of the month of December was more or less employed in preparation. They took place in the hall, where the tragedy of 'Dido,' composed by Ritwise, master of St Paul's School, was acted before Cardinal Wolsey in 1507. Some apology is

offered by the author of the 'Consuetudinarium' for the "levity" of such entertainments, but they are defended on the very just ground of encouraging a graceful action and self-possession on the part of the young performers.* But these Christmas holidays were spent by the young Etonians of Elizabeth's days at school. The only real vacation, when they had an opportunity of going home to their friends, was from Ascension Day to the feast called *Corpus Christi*—an interval of three weeks; and, short as these holidays were, every boy who did not return to college in time for vespers on the evening before the last-mentioned festival was flogged.

Friday was the day when all the defaults of the week were reviewed, and when the floggings took place. There does not seem to have been any regular half-holiday, and even the Sunday had its work—chiefly recitations and declamations on a given subject. On St John Baptist's and St Peter's days, and on the anniversary of the Trans-

* Notices of plays and shows occur in the college audit-books frequently soon after this date; and there is an inventory in the same books of the articles in "Mr Scholemaster's chamber," among which occurs "a great cheste bound about with yron to keep the players' coats in:" a list of the "Players' cloathes" follows.—(See Note A, Appendix.)

lation of St Thomas Becket, they had bonfires in the schoolyard—a somewhat inappropriate amusement, since all these festivals occur in the middle of summer. On Shrove Tuesday verses were written in honour or dispraise of Bacchus—"because poets were considered the clients of Bacchus"—and those composed by the senior boys were fixed on the inside of the folding-doors of the hall, as was the old fashion in all schools and colleges. This custom was continued almost into modern days, and though the subject was changed, the copy of verses was still called "a Bacchus." When Pepys paid a visit to the school in 1665, he found the subject given out for that year was the one topic of absorbing interest—the Plague :—

"To the hall, and there found the boys' verses 'De Peste;' it being their custom to make verses at Shrovetide. I read several, and very good they were; better, I think, than ever I made when I was a boy; and in rolls as long and longer than the whole hall by much."—Diary, vol. iii. p. 165.

Some accounts have also come down to us of the expenses of *commensales*, or oppidans, at this early date. On October 21, 1560, two sons of Sir William Cavendish entered Eton in this capacity. The father was dead, and their mother had remarried

with Sir William St Loe. The almoner of the college had given his assurance that "no gentleman's children should be more welcome or better looked unto." They took a man-servant with them, and at first boarded with a Mr Richard Hylles; furnishing their own chamber, and paying at the rate of 10s. a-week for the two brothers, and 3s. 4d. for their man, exclusive of firewood for the chamber. They had two young friends, sons of Sir Francis Knowles, probably already members of the school, to sup with them on the day of their arrival; and they gave a sort of entrance-breakfast to "the company of forms in the school" (meaning, probably, the boys in their own form), which cost them 6d. They wore, as was the custom at that time for all the boys, whether scholars or commoners, a gown of black frieze. The most expensive item of dress would appear to be shoes, of which they had a new pair "against All-Hallow-tide," another at Christmas, and again on January 28, at Easter, Whitsuntide, on July 26, and at Michaelmas. They moved into the college on November 25, about a month after their entrance; which was a less expensive arrangement, as they only paid there 24s. for a month for themselves and their man. But they had still some connection with their host, Mr Hylles, as there is

a payment to him of 13s. 4d. for "one quarter's commons" to May 22; probably in consequence of the sickness of one of the brothers, in which case it was usual for the boys to have "commons" out of college. They paid 6d. "quarterage" for "ink, brooms, and *birch*." The books they had to buy were Lucian's Dialogues, 'Isopé's Fabyllés,' and 'Tullye's Atticum.' Of their amusements we only learn that they paid 3d. to a man for seeing "bear-baiting and a camel, as the other scholars did." They appear to have remained at the school little more than a year, and the sum total of their joint expenses was £25, 11s. 5d.

Of these two boys, the elder married at seventeen; and after representing Devonshire in five parliaments, and travelling for some time in the East, died without issue. The younger was created Baron Cavendish (much to his elder brother's vexation), and was the first Earl of Devonshire. The family have been Etonians ever since; and few have done more honour to the school than the present Duke, who, as Mr Cavendish, won the highest honours of his year at Cambridge.

The names and charges of these *commensales* first appear in the college accounts in 1563. On a fly-leaf at the end of the volume for 1551-62 are

certain regulations on the subject. There appear to have been three tables in hall—the first, probably for the provost and fellows; the second, for the *generosi commensales*, called in this place the “gentlemen’s table;” and the third, where the ordinary *commensales* sat, whose fare was probably the same as the scholars’. The occupants of the “gentlemen’s” table were to pay twenty-pence, the lowest table twelve-pence, per week for their commons. But these charges were raised when the accounts begin. In 1563, ’64, ’65, and ’66 one name only appears as a *commensalis* at the first table; “Mr Roger Day” (the prefix is distinctive), probably a relation of the then provost. He pays 4s. a-week for his commons. At the second table, where the numbers vary from four to fourteen, they pay 2s. 2d.; and at the lowest table 1s. 6d. The numbers at this table are sometimes as many as twenty-eight, and sometimes as few as eight. No mention is made of a “first table” after Mr Day’s departure. Many of the names of the boys at both the lower tables are those of noble and ancient families: Stanhope, Arundel, Fitzwilliam, Grey, Cornwallis, Temple, Bartie, Throgmorton, Myldmaye, &c., &c. Those at the second table, who, by reason of the higher charge for commons, may be considered to

have held a rather superior status, seem frequently to have been elder sons. Some appear to have formally "kept their term," as it were, by three weeks' commons only in each quarter; others are charged for the whole thirteen.

The Latin-English term "*oppidan*" was applied to these independent scholars at least as early as Fuller's days. Speaking of the college, he says, "There be many *oppidanes* there maintained at the cost of their friends." A letter of 1608 informs a friend that "Phil Lytton" (a son of Sir Rowland Lytton of Knebworth) "is in commons in hall,"* which appears to have been the term then employed for this class of oppidan boarders. The number in those years was usually about thirty. The college books record the names of many young noblemen who appear to have dined regularly in hall, even if they were not lodged with the foundation scholars. Young Lord Willoughby and his page were in commons in the hall, either regularly or at intervals, from 1613 to 1618⁴; and in 1623 and 1624 there are charges for "Lord Dormer and his companie." This class of Etonians seems to have disappeared during the Civil Wars; for there are no such entries after the date of the Restoration.

* State Papers, Domestic Series, anno 1608.

Disbursements also appear very early in the college accounts, under the head of "*Estranei*," who seem to have been the occasional visitors entertained at the charge of the society. In 1553 we have "*Dux Northumbriæ cum aliis*." These charges are generally highest in Election week, when there were most claimants on the college hospitality. An unusually expensive week after Election in 1560 has this explanatory note, "*Regina existente Windesoriæ*." There was paid "to two cooks of Westmynster for helping in the kytchin xi^s." Some of the Court no doubt were entertained in hall, and it seems probable that Elizabeth herself then paid the college a visit, as there occurs a charge "for fyve burthens of rushes to straw Mr Durston's * chamber against the Quene's coming."

In the year 1563, when the plague was very fatal in London, the Queen spent some days at Windsor, accompanied amongst others by her secretary, Cecil, and the two brothers Dudley. She probably paid a visit to the college at Eton; or at least the scholars waited upon her with a literary ovation. They presented her again with a manuscript volume of congratulatory Latin verses, chiefly

* One of the fellows ejected in the year following.—(See p. 20.)

sapphics and elegiacs, commonly in the way of acrostics of the Queen's name, or forms of welcome—the word "*Elizabetha*" coming in most conveniently, as every schoolboy will understand, for the conclusion of a sapphic stanza. Here and there some ingenuity has been misemployed in those "reversible" verses, which will scan and construe equally well when read backwards or forwards, and make equally poor sense either way. All have the writers' names attached.* They are a curious instance of what sort of flattery was thought most likely to be agreeable to the maiden queen, and what the popular belief was as to her relations with Robert Dudley. There are elaborate eulogies on both the brothers, and fulsome commendations of Robert's personal beauty, which her Majesty, the writers hope and believe, will find irresistible.

* The volume (probably the original) exists also among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, 12. A. xxx. Its title is '*Ætonensium Scholarium maxime triumphans Ovatio.*' Here is a specimen for curious readers :—

Evandri primam **L**ivoris prima sequatur,
 Et primam **S**atyre syllaba prima **E**edæ;
THAletis primam **G**RAvitatis prima sequatur,
 Et primam **T**Abi syllaba prima **E**Emi;
DISidii primam **T**itanis prima sequatur;
 Quid fit et ex illis, Regia Virgo, vide.

This production is signed [Giles] "*Fletcher,*" afterwards the Queen's ambassador in Russia and elsewhere.

One young versifier ransacks his classical memory for illustrious and loving couples to whom he may liken Elizabeth and Robert. Priam and Hecuba, Medea and Jason, Hector and Andromache, are quoted in succession ; but the parallel which seems to please him most, is Venus stooping to Anchises—the goddess to the mortal. The hope of the nation is, as the poet's plain-spoken gallantry expresses it—" *proles imago tui*." Some of the young writers turn their loyal wishes in a more prosaic direction—that her Majesty and all near or dear to her may be preserved from the plague ; and, of course, few are without some compliment to Elizabeth's own scholarship. French had more honour at Eton in those early times, it would appear, than in Mr Tarver's days ; for that language is reckoned amongst the royal accomplishments almost upon the same level as Latin and Greek :—

"Tam bene quam Galli Gallica verba sonas."

The volume has on the fly-leaf an introductory Greek quatrain, signed with the head-master's name—William Malim ; and it may be fairly supposed that his scholars' effusions received more or less polishing from his hand. Assuredly the introductory address or preface (in very fair Latin

prose), though it speaks in the boys' name, must have been his production; for, after much eulogy of her Majesty and her father Henry VIII.—whom they styled a “demigod”*—and much apology for the imperfections of their juvenile muse, they are made to request that, if her Majesty is pleased with their offering, she will mark her royal satisfaction (not by an additional week's holiday, as the modern Etonian would suggest, but by a more delicate compliment, which perhaps he would not so entirely appreciate) by bestowing some good thing *upon their master*—“that laborious man who had taught them to make such verses”—so that he might not linger on to old age in such a wearisome office, but get at last “into harbour,” as the Latin has it: a snug deanery or canonry, to wit, where head-masters find pleasant anchorage. It does not appear that Mr Malim's application was successful. Possibly the verses were not good enough. He seems to have continued master of Eton nearly twenty years longer. He was a very energetic disciplinarian, and it is just possible that this petition of his scholars may have been entirely *proprio motu* on their part, and that they wanted

* “Tanquam semideus ex omnibus Europæ principibus ad Angliæ salutem natus ac procreatus.”

to get rid of him. For we get another glimpse of him in his school, exactly at this date. "While the Queen lay at Windsor, news comes to Mr Secretary Cecil that divers scholars of Eaton be run away from the school for fear of beating." Haddon, Roger Ascham, and others, were present at Cecil's lodgings at the time, and it was then that Haddon made the remark that the most successful master he knew (Udall) was the greatest beater. Ascham replied that, if it were so, it was due to the boys' parts, and not to the master's beating. This liberal use of the rod, for which Udall and Malim seem to have been so notorious, became a traditionary characteristic of Eton discipline—by no means obsolete within modern memory. The report of it at a somewhat later date so terrified John Evelyn, author of the 'Sylva,' that he entreated his father not to carry out his intention of sending him there—"which perverseness," he says, in after life, he had "a thousand times deplored." One of Malim's pupils (not one of those who ran away) lived to earn a very inglorious distinction. John Greenhall, elected to King's in 1576, left the college and took to "the road," and was hanged and dissected.* It is to be

* "*Decessit insignis latro, suspensus, de quo anatomia*

hoped he was the only Etonian who came to such an end.

The plague, which Elizabeth had gone to Windsor to escape, seems to have reached that neighbourhood very soon after; for in June of the same year, in consequence most probably of its appearance in the college, some of the boys were removed into a sort of Sanatorium in the country. The tenant of the college estate at Cypenham (about two miles from Eton) was bound by his lease to take in any six scholars, free of charge, for one quarter—if they staid longer, he was to have reasonable compensation for their maintenance; and these farmhouse lodgings received some occupants at this time, as is shown by the college audit-books.*

Queen Elizabeth appears to have paid the college another visit in 1570, as there is a charge in the college accounts of that year “for making two wayes through the brooke” for the Queen. She

facta est.—MS. note copied by Huggett. Some loyal Etonians question the fact; but the note is at least slightly corroborated, in a curious way, by the fact that the name of “John Greenhall,” cut on the shutters of Lower School with the others of his election, has been carefully erased, though it may still be made out: and erasures in these lists are of very rare occurrence, the *religio loci* forbidding any desecration of such memorials.

* The clause continued to be inserted in the lease on each renewal up to 1844, when the present Sanatorium was

seems to have been in one of her iconoclastic moods at the time; for in the same year there is a charge for two men "breaking down images" at the college, and filling up their places with stone and plaster. She was there again in 1596, and appears to have been again received with congratulatory verses—"4000 Latin hexameters," said to be still extant amongst Dr Rawlinson's MSS.* Her Majesty had grown considerably older, and more exacting in the way of flattery; but it is hardly possible that the compliments paid her by the scholars of that day could have been broader than those of their predecessors. There is still to be seen, as a memorial of her visit, the following doggrel, cut rudely on the wainscot on the north

built. The following are some of the entries in the audit-books of 1563:—

- "To Shepperde's wife for making clean the house at
Cipnham for the children, iiii June, xii^d
- "For straw for the children's beds there, iiii^d
- "Geven to Fisher the carrier for his paynes labour-
ing at Cipnham aboute provision for the children of
colledge there the iii de of June, xii^d
- "Geven to the goodman Shepperde of Cipnham for his
paynes coming to the colledge of Duffelde beinge
at Cipnham, xii^d
- "To Nicholas Stourson for Chewte, and his expenses
kepinge the house at Cipnham, xiii^d

* So says Ackerman, in his account of Eton College: but no such MS. can now be found amongst Rawlinson's collections.

side of the hall—"Queen Elizabetha *ad nos* gave Oct. 10th two loves in a mess, 1596." She also presented the college annually with a pipe of the "red Gascon wine," which had perhaps continued, more or less regularly, from the founder's days, to be the customary royal donation.

In 1601, the Duke of Biron, having been sent to announce to Elizabeth the marriage of Henry IV. of France with Mary of Medicis, visited Eton in state, and was addressed in a Latin oration by John Wilson, a precocious genius, who "though the smallest boy in the school had been made a præpostor;" the Duke presented him with three angels for his pains. As he did not go off to King's until four years afterwards, he must have been a mere child at the time. He subsequently became one of the Puritan colonists of New England.

CHAPTER III.

THE provosts of Eton College have always taken a leading part in the government of the school. It was so intended by the founder. There is scarcely any detail of discipline over which the provost does not, according to the statutes, exercise a controlling power. Even over the head-master he has the right distinctly given him of "governing, directing, punishing, and controlling;" and in the earlier times, this right was very commonly exercised. In some cases, even within modern memory, the interference has been frequent enough to be mischievous. But it must be remembered that, in the days we are now dealing with, the whole college — provost, fellows, and masters — formed really one body; and while the actual grammar teaching of the boys was carried on by the master and his usher, the domestic discipline of the whole college was the charge of the provosts.

Whenever these were men of mark, they left the impress of their character on the school. Among the earlier holders of the office were Robert Aldrich (the friend of Erasmus), who had previously been head-master; and Sir Thomas Smith, the scholar and statesman, who reformed our Greek pronunciation, and proposed to do the same for the English alphabet. He was appointed by Edward VI., and was in deacon's orders, although an old Eton annotator, who had no love for reformers, records him as "*laicus et conjugatus*"—a double reproach in a provost of Eton. But even Latimer notes the "enormity" of a man serving the crown in a civil capacity and at the same time "having the profit of a provostship and a deanery and a parsonage."* With these exceptions, the successors of Westbury were not very remarkable until the election of Sir Henry Savile in 1596. He was one of the few Englishmen of his time who could lay claim to much Greek scholarship, and had the honour of

* Sermons, Parker Society's edit., p. 122. There can be no doubt that the allusion is to Sir Thomas, who was at the same time Secretary of State, Provost of Eton, Dean of Carlisle, and Rector of Leverington. He deserves to be remembered as the author of the Act of Elizabeth which reserved to colleges a portion of their rents in wheat and malt—an important benefit, by which the increase of their income has borne some proportion to the rise in the prices of food.

instructing Queen Elizabeth herself in that language. He took an active part in the general superintendence of the studies, and maintained a very strict discipline among the young Etonians. He had little love for erratic genius, and gave its due honour to study and earnest application. "Give me the plodding student," said he; "if I would look for wits, I would go to Newgate—there be the wits." He had a fancy for ruling the fellows of the college pretty much as if they also were *in statu pupillari*, which, as was natural, they highly resented; and he was ruled in his turn by an authority which certainly was not provided for in the college statutes,—his wife. She threatened to burn that costly edition of Chrysostom, which he was printing at his private press (in 'Weston's Yard'), because she thought he paid more attention to it than to herself; "I would I were a book," said the jealous lady, "and then you would a little more respect me." Savile had the honour of entertaining James I. soon after his accession at a banquet in the provost's hall, and on that occasion received knighthood at his hands. Even this distinction Dame Savile seems to have considered as due to herself rather than her husband, complaining to a friend that "the favour came now too late,

and was not worthy of her." Provost Murray, who followed him, only lived two years, when another great name succeeded—Sir Henry Wotton. He had qualified himself for the provostship by taking deacon's orders. He had a formidable competitor for the office in the great Lord Bacon, who had petitioned King James for it as a place of honourable retirement after his disgrace: but it was objected that his debts might bring discredit on the college. More than once attempts were made by the Crown to nominate a layman: Robert Boyle refused it on that ground: Edmund Waller, the poet, twice obtained the nomination, but it was successfully resisted. The right of electing a provost really belongs, by the statutes, to the fellows; and the claim of the crown to nominate (which they do not admit) seems to rest merely upon the fact of Henry VI. having exercised it during his lifetime as founder of the college.

Sir Henry Wotton, like his predecessor, interested himself greatly in the boys, and appears to have been a constant visitor in the school: choosing occasionally some one or two promising boys (or perhaps such as had been recommended to him by personal friends) to make pets of, and having them under his own care in his lodgings, where

they attended upon him at his meals, which would in those days be considered as a service of honour. Very probably the provost of Eton (as the warden of Winchester certainly did) received some of the "*fili nobilem*" into his lodgings as boarders. Especially Wotton encouraged the study of rhetoric: being wont to say that "none despised eloquence but those dull souls who were not capable of it." "He would often make choice," says Isaak Walton, "of some observations out of the historians and poets, and would never leave the school without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or sentence that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar."

Eton must by this time have attained to something of its present repute, and had done much to advance English scholarship in the eyes of foreigners. Isaac Casaubon, the great French scholar, in whose house at Geneva Sir Henry Wotton had lodged when on his travels, came with him to England in 1610, and placed his son Meric at Eton school—most likely as one of these special pupils of his friend the provost.

The discipline of the school was interfered with, during Wotton's provostship, by the quartering in the town of some of the troops whom the Duke of

Buckingham was collecting for his unlucky expedition against France. A letter of the provost and fellows to him complains that "certain companies of soldiers are billeted at Eton," and that "the privileges of the college suffer, and the youth and the soldiers do not well comport." The French hostages also, who were detained in a sort of honourable captivity at Eton, led to mutual complaints between the provost and De Foix, the French ambassador. The Frenchmen complained of their treatment, and were besides afraid of the plague, which was in the neighbourhood. The provost, on the other hand, accused them of contaminating the morals of the boys, and of introducing improper visitors even into the fellows' common room, where these gentlemen appear to have been received as guests.*

John Harrison was schoolmaster for a few years during Wotton's provostship. His celebrated pupil, Robert Boyle, who was an oppidan out of college, gives him a high character; but Boyle was a favourite. "Mr Harrison would often dispense with his attendance at school at the accustomed hours, to instruct him privately and familiarly in his chamber." Not only this, but he was in the

* Strype, Ann. 1563; Froude's Elizabeth, ii. 61.

habit of presenting him on those occasions with balls and tops, the confiscated property of less favoured pupils who had been caught in the unlawful use of them during school-hours. No wonder that Boyle found the next master (William Norris) "a rigid fellow;" and since this is all that we can find recorded of him, it may be open for charity to suppose that Mr Norris merely did his duty without respect of persons. Boyle speaks of the school in his time as being "very much thronged with the young nobility;" but there appears no record of the numbers. He himself narrowly escaped being killed there, twice: once by the falling in of the chamber in which he and his brother slept, when Robert was all but crushed in his bed; and once by the Eton apothecary, who gave him a wrong dose in mistake. The next time he was ordered physic, his prudent servant gave him, instead of the apothecary's draught, a perfectly harmless potion of his own concocting; which, however, acting on the body through the imagination, had all the desired effect, and he got well immediately.

Norris was succeeded in the mastership by Nicholas Gray, a Westminster student of Christ Church, sometime master of the Charter-House

School (which he lost by marrying against the statute), then of Merchant Taylors', and finally of Eton. "He left behind him the character of an excellent scholar," says Huggett. His exact date is variously given; Cole says he was only master three months. He had fallen upon evil times for the old royal foundations. Stewart, who had succeeded Sir H. Wotton as provost, was in arms with the King at Oxford; the elections at Eton had been put off (1643), and the records of the college are, for some years to come, confused and defective. Many of the loyal Etonians followed their provost's example, and took up arms for the Crown. Fellows of King's College threw off the gown for the steel cuirass, and showed that the student's sword was no idle weapon. William Raven and Charles Howard raised troops of horse, and the latter fell at the siege of Newark. So did Sampson Briggs at Gloucester, James Eyre at Berkeley, Henry Pierce at Bridgewater. The royal college gave at least a fair proportion of her sons to the cause of "Church and King." Henry Bard was more fortunate; he served through the whole of the war, including the fatal day of Naseby, and became Viscount Bellamont. James Fleetwood carried the church into the camp, did his office as chaplain to his regiment

in the bloody fight at Edgehill (where the King's two sons were intrusted to his charge), and survived to be provost of his college and bishop of Worcester.

Complaints as to the management of the royal foundation began in very early times. Disputes arose upon questions of privilege between the two colleges at Eton and at Cambridge, and this led to the presentation of general "Articles of Complaint" on the part of King's College against the sister society to Archbishop Laud in or about 1634. They represented, first, that the number of fellows of Eton, which by statute should be ten, was now only seven; and that the cause of this reduction lay in the covetousness of the governing body, who thus increased their own individual incomes. That whereas the statutes directed that, in case of any deficiency in the college revenues, the number of scholars should be first diminished, they had preferred the suppression of the fellowships, because the scholars did not cost them nearly so much as a fellow—"they being deprived of breakfast, clothing, bedding, and all other necessities which the statute amply allows them, and forced to be content with a bare scanty diet and a coarse short gown, while the college revenues are shared among

a few." Secondly, they complained that all the fellows ought to be elected from those who are or have been fellows of King's or conducts of Eton. Thirdly, that choristers had a preferential claim to the scholarships. And fourthly, that the school-master ought to be chosen from the fellows of King's College; whereas all these claims were in practice neglected. The Archbishop decided that five of the seven Eton fellows at the least must have been fellows of King's; his decision on the other points does not appear; but at any rate the claim of the poor choristers seems to have been quietly ignored, as at Winchester and Westminster. No reformer, ancient or modern, thought it worth while to make a fight for them. They used formerly to sleep in the same chambers as the scholars, and dine with them in hall, and were probably taught with them. They are at present taught in a separate school (being, of course, boys of a different class), and receive little more than a commercial education. It is professed that if a boy of promise were discovered among them he would be allowed to compete for college; but this discovery has never been known to have been made for many generations. Yet there is no doubt that the claim was admitted in the earlier days of

the society : one at least of the original members of the foundation—Roger Flecknowe, or Fleckmore—went off as a scholar to King's in 1445. It appears, also, from the audit-books of King's College, that their choristers were frequently candidates for election on the Eton foundation : entries occurring of sums paid, usually to some servant of the college, to defray the expenses of their journey across country to Eton under his charge. The Great Rebellion stopped the execution of Laud's injunctions with regard to the Eton fellowships, but they were afterwards confirmed under James II. As to the election of head-masters, there has certainly been no ground since those days to complain of any want of due preference to King's and Eton men. The Royal Commissioners have rather taken occasion to notice the strict exclusiveness of the college in this respect ; not only the head-masters, but the assistant-masters also, having been appointed (with rare exceptions) solely from that body for many generations, the field of choice having been only partially opened within the last few years.

It would be very interesting, if it were possible, to know something of the effect of the civil wars upon the numbers and internal economy of the

school. The Parliament had appointed to the provostship Francis Rouse, afterwards Speaker of the "Barebones" Parliament, and one of Cromwell's peers. Gray lost his mastership and fellowship at the same time, but found a refuge, after a while, as schoolmaster at Tunbridge. New fellows were put in the places of ejected loyalists. A special catechist was appointed to the college, who was to teach the boys sound doctrine, and their neighbours of Eton and Windsor were invited to attend his lectures.

It is due, however, to the Protector to say that Eton seems to have fared well at his hands: nay, that on one point at least he was a more liberal patron than his successors. A curious document exists amongst the college records, dated March 11, 1655, by which he orders the payment of "three score and thirteen pounds ten shillings in satisfaction of arrears of forty-two pounds per ann., and fifteen pounds per ann. in lieu of three tuns of Gascon wine claimed by them in perpetuity," and further directs the Commissioners of the Treasury that they "from time to time, for the future, continue the payment of the said several sums yearly by equal portions to the provost and fellows." No record appears of any such payment after this date.

It is probable that the spirit of loyalty survived in the school in spite of all discouragements. At any rate, it showed itself in a very characteristic way immediately upon the Restoration. The usurping authorities were then of course displaced, and such of the ejected fellows as survived were restored to their places. Gray, the late master, was among them, and regained his living as well; but he did not survive long enough to reap much advantage from his restoration, dying in that same year at Eton—it is said, “very poor.” One of the intruders—Goad—was allowed to remain; though elected under Rouse, it was before the King’s execution. Another, Nathaniel Ingelo, holding the office of vice-provost, though subsequently elected, was also allowed to retain his place: but as the validity of his appointment was not acknowledged, he had to submit to a fresh election. But the loyal Etonians were disgusted. They sent up a petition to the Bishop of Lincoln, the Visitor of the College, against him. He had, they alleged, “turned out and warned off the college precincts, under peril of whipping by the college servants, one Hill, a scholar;” also “another cavalier’s son, Esquire Harrison’s, for nothing, as it is now known;” and the petition—evidently genuine, from the wording

—concluded in these terms,—“We all want to be eased of the yoke that we undergo by the means of this Ingelo.” It does not appear that the application was successful.

But the college was purged of the Puritan leaven in other respects. Francis Lord Rouse had died a few years before, and had been buried with great pomp in the aisle known as “Provost Lupton’s Chapel.” The Royalists did not proceed to the extent of digging up his bones. But his banners and escutcheons, says Antony Wood, “were pulled down with scorn by the loyal provost and fellows, and thrown aside as tokens and badges of damned baseness and rebellion.” “The irons for the banner,” says Huggett (in 1767) “are there to this day.” They did all they could to erase the memory of “the old illiterate Jew of Eton,” as they called him—probably from the notion which he entertained of reforming the English commonwealth after the pattern of the Jewish; but, for all that really appears, he was as much of a Christian and not more illiterate than some other provosts. He had shown considerable affection for Eton: many of the finest trees in the playing-fields are of his planting; and he founded three exhibitions at Pembroke College, Oxford, which Etonians enjoy

to this day. In the portrait of him which is still suffered to hang in the provost's dining-hall, he shows a face that might pass for an honest Royalist enough. Rouse's successor, Lockyer, who had been appointed by Richard Cromwell as Protector, was removed ; probably also Singleton, the master, as Thomas Montagu succeeded him that year.

Petitions of all sorts crowded in upon the new King from sufferers—not always the most really deserving—who looked for recompense under the new order of things. Many also of the other party tried to excuse themselves, or to make their peace. Amongst others, John Boncle applied for some indulgence, as having once been in the service of the royal children—as page, or gentleman, or in some such capacity—from which having been dismissed under the Parliament, he had become schoolmaster of Charter-House, afterwards of Eton, then fellow of the college, and now, at the date of his application, in general difficulties ; his letter, in fact, leaving an impression not altogether favourable to Mr Boncle himself, or conveying a high notion of an Eton head-master's dignity in those days.

The college, which had no doubt suffered considerably during the Rebellion and the Common-

wealth, rose to even more than its former prosperity under provost Allestree and head-master Rosewill. Never man deserved his elevation better than Dr Richard Allestree. He had fought for the First Charles in the students' troop at Oxford—had risked his life for the Second in conducting his correspondence with loyal friends abroad—had been proscribed and all but hanged more than once—was a hearty Church-of-England man, and a sound divine. Yet the story went (and it is very possibly true) that all these merits might have been forgotten by his royal and thoughtless master, but for the accident of his remarkable ugliness—patent, to this day, to any one who sees his picture. Rochester is said to have made a bet with the King that he would find an uglier man than Lauderdale, and forthwith to have introduced Allestree, whom he had stumbled upon in the street, and whom Charles then remembered and promoted. He found Eton in debt, and half in ruins; "the pretended saints," Huggett says, had divided amongst themselves the surplus revenues, instead of employing them for the advantage of the foundation—a course which, it must be confessed, members of collegiate bodies who make no special pretension to be saints have been also known to pursue. Allestree is said to

have rebuilt the whole western face of the large quadrangle (where the upper school now stands) at his own charge. But either the new buildings were unsubstantial or incomplete, or for some other reason, the "new school" did not last long; for Rosewill, then head-master, left £300 by will, which formed the nucleus of a large subscription a few years afterwards, when the whole appears to have been again rebuilt.* It is in Rosewill's mastership that we meet with the earliest existing list of the school, or any clue to the numbers. This list, of the year 1678,† shows that the old "seventh" form had disappeared, and the sixth stands first, as it does now. It contains only eight names—all collegers, and all elected afterwards, in different years, to King's. The fifth contains thirty-eight—nineteen collegers, followed by the same number of oppidans, of whom Sir John Price is "captain." There are fifty-nine in the fourth, fifty-eight in the third, thirty-four in the second,

* It is possible that the explanation may be found in the fact of a fire having taken place in the college in June 1667. What damage was done does not appear; but a considerable sum was paid for clearing away the rubbish, and for the purchase of timber and bricks. Provost Allestree was at Oxford, where he usually resided, and a messenger was sent to inform him of it.

† For this list see Note B, Appendix.

one in the "Bibler's seat," and nine apparently "unplaced" below, unless they may possibly be choristers. The whole number (including these last) is 207. The strange thing is, that there appear to be at least seventy-eight collegers. The only nobleman is Lord Alexander (son of the Earl of Stirling); there are five baronets.

The plague, of which the Eton scholars had been so much afraid in Elizabeth's days, returned again with far greater virulence in 1662 and the following years. It does not seem that on either occasion it was very fatal in the school itself; at least but few deaths are recorded in the Eton registers.* But it gave rise to a remarkable ordinance as to the use of tobacco, which contrasts curiously with modern Eton rules. Let old Thomas Hearne give it in his own words:—

"Even children were obliged to smoak. And I remember that I heard formerly Tom Rogers, who was yeoman beadle, say that when he was that year a schoolboy at Eaton, all the boys of that school were obliged to smoak in the school every morning, and that he was never whipped so much in his life

* The deaths of three "scholars" appear in Huggett's copy of the Eton registers in 1662, and of one in each of the three following years, but the plague is not stated to be the cause.

as he was one morning for not smoaking."—Diary, ii. 449.

The reminiscences of later Etonians connect whippings with smoking in a different way.

James II. touched for the evil at Eton in 1686, and amongst his patients were the Hon. Charles and George Cecil, sons of the Earl of Exeter. He performed the same ceremony there, possibly for the last time, in 1688.

CHAPTER IV.

WE now come to the times when the records of the school and its masters become more distinctly historical. Charles Roderick, who had been lower-master, or usher as it was still called, under Rosewill, succeeded him in the head-mastership; "an excellent scholar," says Cole, "yet never had the courage to preach one sermon, though he composed not a few." Roderick became provost of King's, and was succeeded by John Newborough, the first Eton head-master of whom there has survived any satisfactory account. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*: but Newborough was fortunate in having a pupil to draw a portrait of him, which, though evidently touched with a loving and partial hand, receives sufficient corroboration in the main from other notices:—

"He was of a graceful person and comely aspect; had a presence fit to awe the numerous tribe over

which he presided ; grave was he in his behaviour, and irreproachable in his life ; very pathetic were his reproofs, and dispassionate his corrections ; and when any hopes of amendment appeared, he declined severe remedies. He always chose, in the places to which as master he had a right of collation, those youths whose industry, modesty, and good behaviour rendered them remarkable, and that so far from being moved by their parents' and friends' application made to him, that even without their knowledge he frequently conferred his place on them. Careful he was, to the greatest exactness and rigidity imaginable, of the morals of the youths committed to his charge. Nor in the common school exercises was a light airy wit so much aimed at, as good sound sense and grave reflections. . . . Exceeding happy was he in his expression, his words flowing from him just, though swift, and always inimitably expressive ; the jejune and insipid explications of the common rank of commentators he held in the utmost contempt, who rather confound and perplex the sense of their authors, than extricate us from our difficulties. . . . Generous and hospitable was he ; and knew as gracefully how to dispose of his money, as how to receive it. To the poorer lads on the foundation

he was known to be very noble, in supplying them with the proper books and other necessities, and that in good quantity; being rightly apprised that the quickest natural parts, and the most promising genius, might be cramped by the *res angusta domi*." *

The grateful biographer goes on to speak of him as "versed in men as well as in books," and admired and respected by old and young in the college. Even the excellent health which the college enjoyed in his time ("there being only one death for three years' space out of about 400 boys") Rawlinson attributes in great measure to Dr Newborough's scrupulous care. He had been often anxious to resign, but was persuaded, for the sake of the school, to retain his office, until his failing health obliged him to retire in 1711. He died the year following, and lies buried at Hitcham in Buckinghamshire, where the inscription on his tomb records him as—

Etonensis Scholæ
Terrarum Orbis per ipsum maximæ
Magister.

The boast was not an empty one. The list of

* Proposals for printing by subscription "*Antiquitates et Athenæ Etonenses*," in four vols. 8vo. "By an Impartial Hand" (Richd. Rawlinson, D.D.), with specimen page.

Newborough's pupils would include a large proportion of the men who were then rising to eminence. Foremost among them were the two Walpoles, Robert and Horatio (afterwards Lord Walpole), and Horace St John, Lord Bolingbroke. Of Sir Robert Walpole's future eminence Newborough seems to have had some prevision. When he heard that some of his late pupils were already making themselves heard in Parliament—especially St John—he wrote in reply, "But I am impatient to hear that Robert Walpole has spoken, for I am convinced he will be a good orator." *

Newborough was succeeded by another man of

* The following bill for "extras," for a boy named Patrick, from April 1687 to March 1688, is preserved amongst Tanner's MSS. It has Newborough's receipt as head-master.

Carriage of letters, &c.,	.	.	.	£0	2	4
For a bat and ram club,	.	.	.	0	0	9
Four pairs of gloves,	.	.	.	0	2	0
Eight pairs of shoes,	.	.	.	0	16	0
Bookseller's bill,	.	.	.	0	14	2
Cutting his hair eight times,	.	.	.	0	2	0
Wormseed, treacle, and manna,	.	.	.	0	2	8
Mending his clothes,	.	.	.	0	2	8
Pair of garters,	.	.	.	0	0	8
School fire,	.	.	.	0	8	0
Given to the servants,	.	.	.	0	12	6
A new frock,	.	.	.	0	5	8
				£3	6	8
<hr/>						
Paid the writing-master half a year, due next						
April 21, '89,	.	.	.	1	0	0

some eminence in his way, though rather as a polemical divine than as a schoolmaster. 'The Gentleman's Magazine' of the time calls him "the great Dr Snape;" but the stout fight that he fought with Bishop Hoadley in defence of orthodoxy, and the virulent pamphlets which it called forth on both sides, are pretty well forgotten, and posterity has had no great loss. Party spirit must have run high at Eton on this "Bangor controversy;" for one of the assistant-masters, Thackeray, found his position there so uncomfortable in consequence of the part he had taken, that he resigned, and afterwards became head-master of Harrow.

Dr Snape's enemies have preserved the fact, very much to his credit, that he was a self-made man—his family having been "Sergeant-farriers" to the King for 200 years. His mother, and afterwards his sister, kept the earliest recorded "Dame's" houses at Eton. He was selected to represent the faculty of divinity when the University of Frankfurt invited Cambridge to be present by delegates at their great Jubilee in 1707, the two-hundredth anniversary of their foundation. On resigning his post in 1720, he is said to have entered a town-boy's name upon the school list without consulting

his parents, in order to raise the number to the round total of 400.

It was the year of the great South Sea bubble when Dr Henry Bland succeeded, coming from Doncaster School. The tide of false prosperity floated the numbers up at once to 425; next year the bubble had burst, and they fell to 375. One of his favourite pupils was William Cole, the antiquary, who even as an Eton schoolboy was beginning the collections which were the labour and delight of his life: going about, especially in his vacations, copying arms and inscriptions from churches. He speaks of Bland as a man of "fine and stately presence," and an elegant Latin scholar. He was the author of the translation into Latin hexameters of the soliloquy from Addison's *Cato*, published in No. 628 of the 'Spectator,' and commonly attributed to Bishop Atterbury. He introduced into the school, in place of the old formal themes, a system of declamations, in which the boys had to maintain opposite sides of an argument: a system which continued in existence at least as late as Barnard's mastership. It produced a good deal of rivalry between the disputants, and occasionally some jealousy. On one occasion it led to a downright quarrel between two of Bland's

sixth-form collegers, who stood next each other in their remove—Thomas Morell, the future lexicographer, and William Battie, afterwards an eminent physician, who founded the “Battie’s scholarships” at Cambridge. They settled their dispute after a fashion which would be sadly repugnant to the habits of the Eton sixth-form in these days. “After a fair set-to,” says Morell, “I knocked his head against the chapel wall, which settled the affair for the present.” But only for the present; for both the boys resided in the town (Mrs Morell kept a “Dame’s” house there), and the mothers took up the quarrel. Battie’s mother watched her opportunity, and slapped Morell’s face next day as he was going into chapel. She must have been something of a dragon, for before this she had attacked Bland’s predecessor, “the great Dr Snape” himself, and scolded him for delaying a remove for some days in consequence, as she said, of Morell’s illness, whereby her boy had lost the chance of getting before him.

Bland resigned in 1728; Sir Robert Walpole, his school and college friend (they had been elected to King’s in the same year), had given him the deanery of Durham, and offered to make him a

bishop, which he declined. Sir Robert was said never to forget his old schoolfellows. Cole mentions a letter in his possession from Bishop Tanner to a friend, in which he says he "does not hope to be preferred till all the Eton and King's men have been provided for."

The expenses of an oppidan in Dr Bland's time were very moderate indeed. A half-year's account paid by Walter Gough (a cousin of the antiquary), who boarded with a Mr and Mrs Bartlet in 1725, amounts in the whole to £22, 5s. 4d. Of this, two guineas go to Dr Bland "for half-a-year's teaching," ten to his "Dominie" for board and study, and one to the writing-master. There are separate charges for servants, "fire in his chamber," and candles. He had a shilling-a-week allowed him for pocket-money, and 10s. 6d. extra at Easter. There is also an entry of 2s. 6d. "paid him for St David"—which, as the boy was not Welsh, seems not easy to explain. Several small tradesmen's bills appear in the account; amongst them, 15s. to the barber, which perhaps included blood-letting. He had a tutor, Mr Littleton; but this seems not to have involved any extra charge.*

* Nichols's 'Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century,' vol. iii. p. 239.

William George, one of the assistant-masters, succeeded to Dr Bland's post. He was an accomplished scholar, and received perhaps the highest compliment ever paid to English scholarship by a foreigner. He had contributed to the Cambridge "*Luctus*," on the death of Frederick Prince of Wales, a copy of iambic verses, addressed to the young prince who was afterwards George III.—since published in the '*Musæ Etonenses*,' and beginning—

"*Spez nuper altera, prima nunc, Britannia,*" &c.

These were shown to Pope Benedict XIV. (Prosper Lambertini), himself a good classical scholar, who was so charmed with them that he declared that, had the writer been a Catholic, he would have made him a cardinal. As it was, he borrowed a cardinal's cap and laid it on the manuscript, and from this singular investiture Dr George's Iambics were afterwards known as "the cardinal verses."

Another amusing story of him has been preserved by Nichols. George was accustomed to declaim Greek to his boys *ore rotundo*. Frederick Prince of Wales, then residing at Clifden House, walked over one day to Eton to call upon the head-master, taking with him Dr Ayscough, tutor to the boy-

princes afterwards George III. and the Duke of York. Dr George was engaged in school, and the Prince and his companion stood for some time listening and peeping at the door (through the convenient holes by which one may peep now) while he was expounding Homer with remarkable energy and action. When Dr George heard of the royal visitor whom he had missed, he went over to Clifden the same afternoon to make his apologies. The Prince told him the story, adding that he wished the Doctor had come an hour earlier, to have heard Ayscough taking off his energetic performance in a lesson with *his* boys. It was not a gracious speech; and Dr George, Nichols adds, "took himself off" very shortly. The period of his mastership was marked by one very horrible event. In March 1730, was buried in the college chapel "Edward Cochran, murdered by his school-fellow, Thomas Dalton, with a penknife." Such is the entry in the parish register; but the inscription which is or was to be read on his tomb has the words "accidentally stabbed." Probably it was an act of sudden passion.

After a successful rule at Eton for fifteen years, Dr George was, in 1743, elected to the provostship of King's College. Of his election a curious ac-

count has been preserved in a letter from a resident in Cambridge at the time. Dr George was backed by Sir Robert Walpole's influence: the other candidates were Chapman, one of the college tutors, supported by the Tory party, and Thackeray, then an assistant-master at Eton, and subsequently head-master of Harrow.

"The fellows went into chapel on Monday, before noon in the morning, as the statute directs. After prayers and sacrament they began to vote: 22 for George, 16 for Thackeray, 10 for Chapman. Thus they continued scrutinising and walking about, eating and sleeping—some of them smoking. Still the same numbers for each candidate, till yesterday about noon (for they held that in the forty-eight hours allowed for the election no adjournment could be made), when the Tories, Chapman's friends, refusing absolutely to concur with either of the two other parties, Thackeray's votes went over to George by agreement, and he was declared.

"A friend of mine, a curious man, tells me he took a survey of his brothers at the hour of two in the morning, and that never was a more curious or a more diverting spectacle. Some wrapped in blankets erect in their stalls like mummies, others

asleep on cushions like so many Gothic tombs ; here a red cap over a wig, there a face lost in the cape of a rug ; one blowing a chafing-dish with a surplice-sleeve, another warming a little negus or sipping 'Coke upon Littleton,' *i.e.* tent and brandy. Thus did they combat the cold of that frosty night, which has not killed any one of them, to my infinite surprise."*

The increasing numbers of the school must have very early required some additional teaching power besides the two masters provided for by the statutes. Up to time of Elizabeth, and probably to a much later date, this had been supplied by monitors. The restriction by which the masters were forbidden to take any fees (even from oppidans) was probably evaded, almost from the first, by the system then universal in all transactions of giving presents, under which heading the sons of wealthy parents soon began to pay pretty highly for their education. Traces of this arrangement remain in the custom still prevailing—not at all to the credit of the school—of presenting a sum as "leaving-money" to the head-master and the private tutor. At what time assistant-masters were first appointed does not appear ; but they were no doubt paid, up

* Letter from Daniel Wray, Nichols's Illust., i. 95.

to a comparatively late date, entirely from such fees as the parents of those under their tuition chose to give them. A curious advertisement (in the 'London Evening Post' of November 9, 1731) by Mr Francis Goode, who had been lower-master for many years under Newborough, throws some light upon the subject :—

“Whereas Mr Franc. Goode, under-master of Eaton, does hereby signify that there will be at Christmas next, or soon after, two vacancies in his school—viz., as assistants to him and tutors to the young gents.: if any two gentlemen of either University (who have commenced the degree of B.A. at least) shall think themselves duly qualified, and are desirous of such an employment, let them enquire of John Potts, Pickleman in Gracious Street, or at Mr G.'s own house in Eaton College, where they may purchase the same at a reasonable rate, and on conditions fully to their own satisfaction.

F. GOODE.

“*N.B.*—It was very erroneously reported that the last place was disposed of under 40s.”

Certainly the place is worth something more now. There seems to have been no doubt in Goode's mind of the perfect propriety of the arrangement; he was a very respectable man, and

was very nearly succeeding Newborough in the head-mastership. He was only defeated by Dr Snape after a very warm contest, and was much disappointed at the result.

Dr George was succeeded by one of his assistants, William Cooke. His short administration of two years is thus summed up by Cole in his most spiteful vein:—

“William Cooke made master of the school, for which post not being found equal, he was made fellow of the college to let him down gently; and, to get rid of his impertinence, insolence, and other unamiable qualities, he was strongly recommended to be provost of King’s on Dr Summer’s death. It is not the first time a man’s unsocial and bad disposition has been the occasion of his advancement. I know the college would be delighted to kick him up higher, so that they could get rid of a formal important pedant, who will be a schoolmaster in whatever station of life his fortune may advance him to.”

Some personal enmity had evidently a share in this note; which, of itself, goes far to justify Disraeli’s remark that Cole “had a gossip’s ear and a tatler’s pen,” and “wrote down every grain of literary scandal his minute curiosity could pick

up.”* But Cooke was certainly not a successful master, and the school under his management fell off in numbers and repute. His successor, Dr Sumner, though an able and zealous teacher, could only partially restore its good name during nine years of office.

Dr Rawlinson, amongst his MSS., quotes from the ‘Daily Advertiser’ an account of a royal visit at this time. It is not a very complimentary paragraph:—

“1747, Aug. 11th.—King George II. visited the College and School of Eton, when on short notice Master Slater† of Bedford, Master Masham of Reading, and Master Williams of London, spoke each a Latin speech (most probably made by their masters), with which his Majesty seemed exceedingly well pleased, and obtained for them a week’s holidays. To the young orators five guineas each had been more acceptable.”

In 1754, on Sumner’s resignation, Dr Edward Barnard, Fellow of St John’s College, Cambridge, who had been private tutor at Eton to the young

* Nichols, in his ‘Literary Anecdotes’ (vol. viii. p. 384) says that Cole was under Cooke at Eton, “and seems then to have contracted an implacable aversion to him.” But this is impossible; they must have been school contemporaries.

† Thomas Selater went to King’s as Captain that year.

Townshends, was elected to the head-mastership. There was a very sharp contest between him and Dampier, the lower-master. The election is by the provost and fellows, each having a vote ; the personal canvass on this occasion was very energetic, but the Townshend and Walpole interest carried the day for Barnard. Under his vigorous rule the school rose again rapidly and steadily. The words of his epitaph in the college chapel—*“Scholæ Etonensis disciplinam et famam per annos undecim auxit et stabilitavit”*—appear to have been a very modest eulogy ; for one of his most intelligent pupils speaks of the “revulsion of the fame of Eton” owing to his able and popular administration. Two assistant-masters were added the year after his appointment to meet the increasing number of oppidans, and two more in 1760. Sumner had gradually raised the total number of the school to 350 ; when Dr Barnard was promoted to the provostship in 1756, he left 522 boys on the Eton list—a larger number by far than had been known at any previous time, and which the school never reached again for more than fifty years.

For Eton was unfortunate in his successor ; doubly unfortunate, because the new master was a man from whom very much was expected, whose

appointment seemed the best that could have been made, and who did really possess many of the most important qualifications for his office. John Foster, the son of a Windsor tradesman, had entered the school very young, and during his career there was the admiration of his schoolfellows and the pride of his masters. He went off early as captain to King's, with the highest reputation as a scholar; and Dr Barnard, immediately upon his own appointment, had recalled him from Cambridge to an assistant-mastership. In that position he seems to have fully borne out the expectations which had been formed of him; for, on Barnard's resignation, Foster was at once elected to succeed him. But though his scholarship was unquestionable, and his discharge of his duties most conscientious, there were deficiencies of other qualifications which were not to be got over. He wanted dignity of person and manner, as well as knowledge of the world; and these are very important points in the ruler of five hundred boys, many of them just attaining manhood. The words of an anonymous contemporary biographer probably state the case fairly:—

“Learning is not the only requisite qualification for such a school as Eton; other qualities are

necessary to constitute the character suited to such an important and difficult charge. He, unfortunately for himself, succeeded a man who pre-eminently possessed all the requisite talents for his situation. The comparison was replete with disadvantage; and, not being able to adopt his predecessor's mode of management and regulation, he rested upon the severity of discipline. He therefore became unpopular among his scholars. The inferiority of his birth, which would never have suggested itself had he made himself beloved, was a circumstance which helped to augment dislike, and to dispose the higher classes of his scholars frequently to display a contempt for his person, and sometimes to resist his authority; he therefore judged it best to resign his situation."

He had the mortification, before he resigned, to see the school fall away in numbers from the 522 left by Dr Barnard to 230; but his zeal and conscientiousness were deservedly rewarded by such consolation as a canonry of Windsor could give. His health, however, was broken, though he was only forty-two. "He had a bad consumptive constitution," says Cole, "which was not bettered by the fatigues of a school and the sedentariness of a scholar." He died at Spa the year following. His

remains were subsequently removed, and reinterred at Windsor. On his tomb in the churchyard there are the following remarkable words, most probably his own :—

“Qui fuerim, ex hoc marmore cognosces ;
Qualis vero, cognosces alicubi ;
Eo scilicet supremo tempore
Quo egomet qualis et tu fueris cognoscam.”

CHAPTER V.

THE briefest notice of the Etonians of the eighteenth century would imply a biographical dictionary of half the distinguished names in Church and State. Only some few, whose school-days are best known to us, must find record here. Their maturer fame is written in English history ; it is in the few and scattered memorials of their boyhood that our special interest lies.

Foremost of such names should stand Horace Walpole ; sprung from an Etonian family, he was all his life an Etonian, heart and soul. That fact alone should save him from the charge of heartlessness. Like his great father, he never forgot an Eton schoolfellow. His references to the old school-times have a sort of self-accusing pathos, as if he felt that he was *not* growing wiser as he grew older, and that the world of folly and fashion was hardening a kindly heart. "The playing-fields of

Eton" are his notion of a lost paradise. "An expedition against bargemen" (so early were those hereditary feuds), "or a match at cricket," were worth all the pleasures of riper ambition. "Alexander, at the head of the world, never tasted the true pleasure that boys enjoy at the head of a public school." Cambridge was a wilderness to him, compared with the "dear scene" he had left. How could Gray "live so near it, without seeing it?" His first sight of a balloon in the air, reminds him at once of "an Eton football." He was at Eton nearly seven years; being entered at ten years old, under Bland as head-master, in 1727, and leaving for King's College (but as a fellow-commoner) in 1734. He made many friendships there, marked by some of the fantastic romance of his day. Gray was there with him, quiet and studious, reading Virgil for amusement in his play-hours, writing graceful Latin verse, and almost as fond of Eton as himself. With him and with Richard West and Thomas Ashton (afterwards fellow) Horace formed the "quadruple alliance," in which, like Sir William Jones and his friends at Harrow, they figured under heroic names, and appear to have ruled imaginary kingdoms. Walpole himself was Tydeus; Gray, Orosmades; Ashton, Plato; and West, Al-

manzor. Then, again, he was one of another "triumvirate," as their schoolfellows called them, in which he was associated with George and Henry Montagu. His letter to the former, dated from "The Christopher," when he revisited Eton three years after leaving school, is one of the most charming in all his pleasant correspondence, especially as it breathes no thought but of kindly recollections. Even the memory of a flogging only amuses him, as he looks forward to hearing a sermon on Sunday from his old school-fellow Ashton, who, when he last saw him in chapel, was "standing funking over against a Conduct to be catechised," and thinks he "shall certainly be put in the bill for laughing in church."

Another of Walpole's contemporaries was Jacob Bryant, author of the 'Mythology.' He was an admirable scholar: but scholarship was by no means his only distinction amongst his schoolfellows. He saved Barnard (the future head-master and provost) from drowning by his skill as a swimmer—an act of which he modestly speaks in his correspondence as "a slight service" which the provost had never forgotten. He was more proud, in his after years, of his prowess in another line. When he was living at Cypenham, near Windsor,

George III. would spend hours in gossiping with the old man, who retained to the last his remarkable powers of conversation. One of their dialogues is recorded by Miss Burney :—

“ ‘ You were an Etonian, Mr Bryant,’ said the King ; ‘ but pray, for what were you most famous at school ? ’

“ ‘ We all expected, from the celebrity of his scholarship, to hear him answer—his Latin exercises ; but, no such thing !

“ ‘ Cudgelling, sir ; I was most famous for that.’ While a general laugh followed this speech, he very gravely proceeded to particularise his feats : though unless you could see the diminutive figure, the weak, thin, feeble, little frame whence issued this proclamation of his prowess, you can but very inadequately judge of the comic effect of his big talk.

“ ‘ Your Majesty, sir, knows General Conway ? I broke his head for him, sir.’

“ ‘ The shout which ensued did not at all interfere with the steadiness of his further detail.

“ ‘ And there’s another man, sir—a great stout fellow, sir, as ever you saw—Dr Gibbon of the Temple—I broke his head, too, sir ; I don’t know if he remembers it.’ ” *

* Madame d’Arblay’s Diary, vol. iii. p. 325.

Charles James Fox entered under Dr Barnard in 1758; Francis, the translator of Horace, being his private tutor. He was a troublesome and irregular pupil—"more of a mutineer than a courtier," says one of his contemporaries; yet he gave out flashes of ability from time to time.* He had his father to thank for much irrational indulgence; in the middle of his Eton career he took the boy off to Paris and to Spa for four months. He came back to school, as might be expected, not at all improved, "with all the fopperies and follies of a young man." It speaks volumes for the wholesome discipline of Eton under Barnard, that the boys teased and laughed at him, and the Doctor took the first opportunity of administering a flogging.† The two

* See Note C, Appendix.

† Barnard had no patience with fopperies in boys, and had occasional "difficulties" with some of the Eton "swells" of his day on the point of dress. His old pupil Christopher Anstey, in his 'Bath Guide,' alludes to this in lines which may amuse Etonian reformers for other reasons. Mrs Danglecub (who has a son in course of education),

" Wonders that parents to Eton should send
Five hundred great boobies their manners to mend,
When the master that's left it (though no one objects
To his care of the boys in all other respects)
Was extremely remiss, for a sensible man,
In never contriving some elegant plan
For improving their persons, and showing them how
To hold up their heads, and to make a good bow,

contemporaries of Fox who most distinguished themselves in after life were William Windham and William (afterwards Lord) Grenville ; but no school friendship appears to have been formed between them. Windham was long remembered at Eton, not only as a scholar, but as "the best cricketer, the best leaper, swimmer, rower, and skater, the best fencer, the best boxer, the best runner, and the best horseman of his time."

But the most remarkable scholar trained under Barnard, in the reputation of all his Eton contemporaries, was one whose memorial has almost perished—Sir James Macdonald of Sleat. "A miracle of talent," George Hardinge calls him, who was in the same remove. He came to Eton with few previous advantages, but a ripe scholar in almost every point but Latin verse. Barnard saw his powers at once, and placed him exceptionally high at his entrance. "Boys," said he to the form,

When they've got such a charming long room for a ball,
Where the scholars might practise, and masters and all ;
But, what is much worse, what no parent would chuse—
He burnt all their ruffles and cut off their queues ;
So he quitted the school in the utmost disgrace,
And just such another's * come into his place."

It is a pity that Mrs Danglecub's ingenious suggestions for Eton reform could not have been laid before the late Royal Commission.

* Dr Foster.

"I am going to put over your heads a boy who cannot write a verse; but I trust you—for I know your generous feelings." The result justified the master in every way. Even Latin versification—an accomplishment rarely attained in any high degree except as the result of early training—came like a natural gift to this remarkable young man, as the pages of the 'Musæ Etonenses' bear witness.* He was "the Marcellus of his day," both at Eton and at the University. But he died early, abroad, before his great abilities were matured.

Dr Foster entered upon his school list, in 1771, the name of perhaps the most elegant Latin scholar whom Eton can boast, Richard Colley Wellesley. As Marquess Wellesley, he will be long remembered there, not only for the honour which he did the school, but for the love which he bore it to his

* There is an admirable copy of verses of his, in the Horatian style, upon the fashionable auctions of the day; (the thesis is "*Ὡς ἐνπρόσωποι φανούνται.*") Few modern Latin prize poems can show such lines as this description of the auctioneer:—

"Ne verbis ultro facilem male credulus aurem
Subjice, nec pronam jam tum meditarier ictus
Crede manum, extremum siquando callida signum
Visa dare immineat; celeri procul illa recursu
Erigitur, lapsum retrahens, causasque morandi
Innectit, jam jamque cadens, dum præmia late
Ingeminat dextrâ ruiturâ exterritus emptor."

dying day. Years only strengthened his affection for Eton, and distance only increased his longing for the old familiar scenes. In those inimitable school exercises preserved in the ‘*Musæ Etonenses*’—the ode *Ad Genium Loci*, the elegiacs on the “Willow of Babylon,” or those in which he takes his farewell—it is difficult to know whether to admire most the classic beauty of the verse, or the tenderness of the feeling. He was buried by his expressed wish in the college chapel, where his own beautiful Latin lines* record the satisfaction with which he looked forward to resting there. Six weeping willows were planted by his request on the river-bank in different parts of the playing-fields, and a bench fixed at one particular point which commanded his favourite view. His younger brother, the Great Duke, was at Eton a few years afterwards,—a shy retiring boy, who left the school

* “*Fortunæ rerumque vagis exercitus undis,
In gremium redeo serus, Etona, tuum :
Magna sequi, et summæ minari culmina famæ,
Et purum antiquæ lucis adire jubar,
Auspice te didici puer, atque in limine vitæ
Ingenuas veræ laudis amare vias.
Si qua meum vitæ decursu gloria nomen
Auxerit, aut si quis nobilitarit honos,
Muneris, Alma, tui est ; altrix da terra sepulchrum,
Supremam lachrymam da, memoremque mei.”*

before he had even risen into the Fifth Form, and in whom neither masters nor schoolfellows seem to have detected the germs of future greatness. He, like his brother, loved his old school, and took his two sons to see the place where he had cut his name on the kitchen-door of his dame's house, Mrs Rangeneau's.

Richard Porson was a contemporary of Lord Wellesley, entering as a collegier four years subsequently, but his senior in age. It is more singular that the great scholar should have failed to earn any remarkable distinction there, than that the future hero should have passed unnoticed. They "thought nothing," wrote one of his schoolfellows, "of the Norfolk boy," who had come there with such an alarming reputation. But Porson's early training was deficient, though his powers were great and his classical reading voracious. He was inaccurate in his prosody—a fatal defect at Eton;* and his Latin verses, almost the only road to dis-

* Praed's clever lines in his 'Eve of Battle' [Etonian], allude to this well-known Eton test in the happiest way. He supposes the emancipated schoolboy eager for the fight—

"And still, in spite of all thy care,
False quantities will haunt thee there;
For thou wilt make amidst the throng
Or ζωη short, or κλεος long."

tion there, were never remarkable. In that, as in other points of elegant scholarship, Lord Wellesley was far his superior. But he was a very popular boy, ready at all games, and clever at schoolboy satire—narrowly escaping the penalty of this dangerous gift in the shape of a thrashing from Charles Simeon, who, strange to say, was a fop at school. Porson addressed an ode to him as “the ugliest boy in Dr Davies’s dominions;” but as he had written it with his left hand, Simeon could never bring it home to him. The late age at which Porson entered college gave him no chance of succession to King’s. He retained no great love for Eton in after life, perhaps feeling that he had hardly his fair share of success there. “The only thing he recollected with pleasure,” he said, was the rat-hunting in Long Chamber.

Dr Jonathan Davies, one of the assistant-masters, succeeded Foster at this time in the head-mastership. He was a man of humble origin, who had in early life been a *protégé* of Barnard’s, to whom he owed all his advancement—an obligation which he never forgot. He ruled for nearly twenty years, when (upon his election to the provostship) Dr George Heath succeeded. The school continued to flourish under both, enjoying the especial favour of

King George III., who desired that the boys on the foundation should be henceforth called "The King's Scholars." The numbers slowly rose, with occasional fluctuations, reaching 489 in Heath's second year, but declining as low as 357 in his last. Not many details of the administration of either of these masters are readily to be obtained; but the Eton names were great names still—Grey, Canning, Lamb (Lord Melbourne), were all Etonians, as were a host of those who held office under them: it was pre-eminently the school of statesmen, as Westminster had been of theologians.

In the first year of the present century Heath resigned, and Joseph Goodall, who had been for eighteen years an assistant-master, was elected in his place. Under him the numbers rose to 511—not yet up to the point which had been reached fifty years back under Barnard. Goodall had many of the best qualifications for a master. A ripe and excellent scholar and a thorough gentleman, he commanded on those grounds the entire respect of his pupils. His bearing was dignified and courteous, and he looked every inch the headmaster of the first school in England; and no man more fully appreciated the position. Eton was his all in all. But there was a lack in his character of

some of the harder qualities which his office required. "There was a pleasant joyousness in him," says one of his pupils, "which beamed and overflowed in his face; and it seemed an odd caprice of fortune by which such a jovial spirit was invested with the solemn dignity of a school-master." The blandness and good-nature, which made him universally popular both as head-master and as provost, were an element of weakness when he had to cope with the turbulent spirits who will always be found in a large school; and Eton discipline did not improve under his rule. His rich fund of anecdote, sprightly wit, and genial spirit, made his society very much sought in days when those pleasant qualifications were perhaps more valued than in our more practical generation: and he was a great personal favourite with the King. It was not so much the fault of the individual as of the age, if (as is said) he had a profound respect for the peerage, and could see few defects of scholarship in his more aristocratic pupils. Those were the days, it must be remembered, when the young peers, sons of peers, and baronets sat in the stalls in the college chapel, visibly elevated above their fellows. Then, too, it was not an uncommon thing for an Eton boy, whose friends were connected

with the Court, to hold a commission in the Guards and draw the regular pay. Especially, if he obtained an appointment as one of the royal pages, he was gazetted while yet a mere child. "I had the honour this morning," Goodall is reported to have said on one occasion, "of flogging a major in his Majesty's service."

The rivalry between Eton and Westminster was very marked in the earlier times, when they stood almost alone in the field of academic competition, and Harrow and Rugby were only just emerging from the rank of country grammar-schools. A little passage of arms on a point of scholarship gave rise to an amusing scene in the House of Commons. Sir Robert Walpole had quoted the line in Horace, as

"Nil conscire sibi, nulli pallescere culpæ."

Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath) corrected him, and gave the true reading, "*Nullū pallescere culpā.*" Walpole maintained that he was right, and a bet of a guinea was made upon the question, which was referred by mutual agreement to Nicholas Hardinge, then Clerk of the House, an Eton man and a well-known classical scholar. He was obliged to decide against his fellow-Etonian, and Walpole tossed the guinea across the table to his opponent.

Pulteney pocketed it with the caustic remark, that it was "the first *public money* he had touched for a long time." "So Westminster triumphed over Eton," says Nichols, who gives the anecdote, and all whose family sympathies were with the former school. The feeling of jealousy breaks out continually in the writings both of Eton and Westminster men. George Hardinge, an Etonian heart and soul, cannot conceal his satisfaction that, during the eleven years of Dr Barnard's rule at Eton, "the rival school, though a very excellent one, and more likely as being in the metropolis to obtain patronage, was stationary in its number and its fame." Barnard himself, who had looked forward to a bishopric (which he is said to have lost by a political harangue against the Court at a Buckinghamshire election), was doubly mortified when "his rival Markham," head-master of Westminster, got the mitre instead. Richard Cumberland, on the other hand, writing as an old Westminster, is jealous of the sunshine of royalty in which Etonians were just then rejoicing; "the vicinity of Windsor Castle," he says, "is of no benefit to the discipline and good order of Eton school." It had probably no great effect one way or the other; but George III. was a constant patron both of boys and masters.

Dr Goodall, as has been said, had many qualifications for a courtier ; and Langford, who was for a long time lower-master, was such a favourite that the King used to send for him down to Weymouth to preach before him—to the considerable disgust, as was natural, of the non-Etonian divines of Weymouth. His Majesty took a lively personal interest in the boys, and knew the most distinguished of them by name and sight. “All people think highly of Eton—everybody praises Eton,” he said to young De Quincey. He was hospitable to them, in his odd way. On one occasion he sent to invite them in a body to the Terrace, and kept them all to supper—“remembering to forget” to extend the entertainment to the masters who had accompanied them, and who returned home in great dudgeon. There were many instances of his kindness to individuals in the school. A boy was once rushing “down town” at a tremendous pace, being rather late for “absence,” when he ran full butt against the King, and “took the wind” very considerably out of the royal person. Of course he stopped to apologise, which made his appearance even at “second name” absolutely hopeless. But the good-natured King asked him his name, and took the trouble to write a note to the head-master to explain

the delay. On another occasion, when a boy was expelled for poaching in Windsor Home Park (a misdemeanor which was not uncommon), the King, thinking that the punishment was too severe for the offence, gave him a commission in the Guards.

There was considerable licence in Goodall's days, and at one time heavy complaints were made as to the moral habits of the school, not without too much foundation. Ascot races were regularly attended by many of the older boys. Hunting and tandem-driving were not uncommon. Henry Matthews, author of the 'Diary of an Invalid,' a very clever and eccentric boy, drove a tandem right through Eton and Windsor; a later rival, however, of Keate's day, drove one through the school-yard. Billiards were very popular, not only with the boys but with their masters, who claimed "first turn" at the tables.

The following letter gives a lively picture of the Eton of sixty years ago, still bright in the vigorous memory of the writer:—

"When I went to Eton Goodall was head-master, and 'Cocky' Keate ruled the lower regions. We had an excellent staff of lieutenants: Thackeray, afterwards provost of King's; Bethel, a very

magnificent gentleman ; Carter, now vice-provost ; Sumner, the most popular of tutors ; Drury, *ehou ! facile princeps*, in all things the Admirable Crichton of his day, but who disappeared in a clouded noon. In the lower school were Charles Yonge, Plumtre, and Knapp.* The system of the school was then, as now, to prepare the lessons of the day with one's tutor, and then take them up to construe to the master of the division. There was too much tendency to favouritism ; either from rank or ability, some had the lion's share of being called up. I conclude this is a weak point not confined to any age or system ; but it acted badly at Eton in my day ; it damped eager aspirations, crushed hope, and induced carelessness. The fairest chance a boy had was in his papers, his copy of verses, his theme, his personal stock that no one could touch ; and as he rose in the school and reached 'play' (confined to the Sixth and a few of the upper division, before the head-master), whatever abilities he might have were then appreciated. But of this special teaching the collegers reaped the chief benefit ; not many oppidans remained so long ; there was a great drain in those days for the army and navy. . . .

* See Note D, Appendix.

“Our battle-ground was the playing-fields. The great battle in my time was between Coleridge (now Sir John) and Horace Mann; it had lasted an hour, when Goodall the head-master came down and stopped it. My friend Rawnsley also fought a capital fight with one W——, a big bully, and thrashed him off in twenty minutes, the Duke of Leinster giving him a knee. . . .

“I think the type of our time was to be read in the excellence of our games. The boats were first-rate; the eleven of foot-ball, and the eleven of cricket, unrivalled. Then there were games illicit, but winked at; the amateur theatricals; the billiard-rooms—Huddleston’s of Windsor, and Gray’s at the foot of the bridge, where you sometimes made way for your tutor! There was even Ascot, at rare intervals. There was the dear old Christopher in the midst of us, where many a bowl of bishop was discussed, in innocent proportions, prepared by the good and careful Garraway. The marvel of marvels was, that amongst the whole 600 all enjoyed their own peculiar privileges, according to age and standing, without disorder or collision—such was the discipline of the boys’ own creating—from the lowest boy to him who held the enviable position of Captain of the school.”

CHAPTER VI.

THE lower-master during most of Goodall's time was John Keate, who ruled his own department, literally as well as metaphorically, with a very vigorous hand. On Dr Goodall's election to the provostship in 1809, Keate succeeded as head-master. His reign was long and successful, though not always peaceful by any means. "Keate's time" is quoted by those who remember it with various comments, differing probably very much with the character of the individuals who came under his rule, but always as important in Eton's history. He was not a weak ruler, at all events, even if he were not always a judicious one. There were times when he was terribly unpopular, and when the boys rose in actual rebellion ; but his firmness and decision carried the school through more than one dangerous crisis without serious damage. Although the numbers at Eton were larger than at any other

public school, and the class of boys might be fairly considered to stand more upon their personal independence, and to be less amenable to rigid discipline, it is remarkable that at Eton there seems to have been none of those determined outbreaks which, in their consequences, were almost the ruin of the smaller schools of Winchester and Harrow; or at least they were more readily suppressed. Possibly the very severity of Keate's discipline, so far as corporal punishment went, acted as a safety-valve. Boys will stand flogging, and have no absurd notions of injured personal honour on that score, whatever modern theorists may hold. It is anything like interference with recognised privileges, right or wrong, which they resent as an indignity. Their notions of the liberty of the subject are as lively and as strongly defined, however absurd the definition may sometimes be, as those of any independent Englishman of riper years; and no head-master will rule a public school successfully, who has not tact enough to understand and recognise the claim. Either he will spoil the honesty and the manliness of his boys, or he will ruin the interests of his school. School rebellions have generally been caused, not by severity of discipline, but either by its laxity or irregularity, or

by some interference, real or imagined, with these popular rights.

Dr Keate's personal appearance has been graphically described by one of his ablest pupils—the well-known author of 'Eothen.' The sketch, if somewhat broadly touched, is drawn with characteristic humour :—

“He was little more, if more at all, than five feet in height, and was not very great in girth ; but within this space was concentrated the pluck of ten battalions. He had a really noble voice, and this he could modulate with great skill ; but he had also the power of quacking like an angry duck, and he almost always adopted this mode of communication in order to inspire respect. He was a capital scholar, but his ‘ingenuous learning’ had *not* ‘softened his manners,’ and *had* ‘permitted them to be fierce’—tremendously fierce. He had such a complete command over his temper—I mean over his good temper—that he scarcely ever allowed it to appear : you could not put him out of humour—that is, out of the ill-humour which he thought to be fitting for a head-master. His red shaggy eyebrows were so prominent that he habitually used them as arms and hands, for the purpose of pointing out any object towards which he wished to

direct attention; the rest of his features were equally striking in their way, and were all and all his own. He wore a fancy dress, partly resembling the costume of Napoleon, and partly that of a widow woman."

The resemblance to Napoleon is to be explained by the fact that all the masters at Eton, up to a comparatively recent date, wore cocked-hats, and that Keate retained the fashion when it had been given up by others.

Unfortunately, his face, figure, and costume presented irresistible temptations to the greatest novice in caricature. "Any one," says the same lively writer, "without the least notion of drawing, could draw a speaking—nay, scolding—likeness of Keate." And there are copies of one still existing in Eton scrap-books, which is the embodiment of the description just quoted. A little Italian modeller once made a clever statuette of him, which had a considerable sale among the boys. A good many copies of it also found their way into the shop of a compatriot in the same trade at Oxford, where a friend of the Doctor's one day saw them. He had not been aware that Keate was so popular a chimney-ornament. "Do you sell many of these?" he asked. "O yes, sare; Eton gentlemen buy him

many times—they have much pleasure to break his head.”

But in spite of some personal eccentricities, and in spite of his vigorous penal discipline, which led to the schoolboy derivation of his name from *χῆμα*—“dispenser of woe”—his pupils learned to honour and respect him as they grew up, for what one of them justly calls “his unbending moral courage and conscientiousness;” and Eton never enjoyed a higher reputation than under his vigorous rule. The scene at his taking leave was positively affecting, from the hearty enthusiasm which made the school ring with cheers as he withdrew.

Anecdotes of his day abound in all Eton memories. Practical jokes were more common then than now, and there was perhaps an additional enjoyment of them by Keate’s pupils from the certain explosion of rage which they called forth from him when discovered. Great amusement was caused in the school from time to time by the clever impersonations of the head-master by a certain young nobleman who had great powers of mimicry. On one occasion, disguised in an old gown and cocked-hat, so as to present by starlight an exact likeness of the Doctor, and accompanied by a schoolfellow

representing "Webber" the butler, who usually carried a lantern before his master on dark nights, he painted Keate's outer door a brilliant red before the very eyes of the college watchmen, who stood looking on at a respectful distance, wondering what the doctor could be at, but not questioning his right to do what he would with his own.* The same clever imitator went over another night, disguised as the Doctor, to the boarding-house kept by Mr Hexter the writing-master, and called "absence" there (as Keate was in the habit of doing occasionally) without being detected by the boys, the captain of the house alone being in the secret. He actually concluded his visit by inflicting a lecture upon Mrs Hexter for some supposed irregularity in her establishment; and so perfect was his "make-up," that one of the assistant-masters who

* In an Eton poetical reminiscence which commemorates the event, the watchmen are supposed to be summoned before a conclave of masters the next morning, and this is their evidence:—

“ ‘ We both last night
Saw him—the Doctor—in his own cocked-hat,
His bands, his breeches, and his bombasine,
Paint his own door-post red.’ Then great the wrath,
And great the marvel of that conclave; all
Turned their cold eyes on him, their dreaded chief,
Convicted on such damning evidence
Of this irreverend deed.”

met him on the way touched his cap with all due respect to his chief. Amongst other forbidden indulgences in the school, Keate had thought proper to include umbrellas, which he regarded as signs of modern effeminacy. Boys are perverse ; and when to the comfort of an umbrella was added the spice of unlawfulness, it became a point of honour with some of the older boys to carry one. The Doctor harangued his own division on the subject in his bitterest style, and ended by expressing his regret to find that Eton boys had degenerated into "school girls." The next night a party made an expedition to the neighbouring village of Upton, took down a large board inscribed in smart gilt letters "Seminary for Young Ladies," and fixed it up over the great west entrance into the school-yard, where it met Keate's angry eyes in the morning. He had also declared war against a fashion, creeping in among the "swells" of those days, of sporting-cut coats with brass buttons, which he denounced as against the statutes. One morning several boys appeared in school in knee-breeches extemporised out of flannel, which they defended as strictly statutable.

But few stories of that day are complete without a flogging. It is said that on one occasion, when a confirmation was to be held for the school, each

master was requested to make out and send in a list of the candidates in his own form. One of them wrote down the names on the first piece of paper which came to hand, which happened unluckily to be one of the slips of well-known size and shape used as flogging bills, and sent up regularly with the names of delinquents for execution. The list was put into Keate's hands without explanation; he sent for the boys in the regular course, and in spite of all protestations on their part, pointing to the master's signature to the fatal "bill," flogged them all (so the story goes) there and then. Another day, a culprit who was due for punishment could nowhere be found, and the Doctor was kept waiting on the scene of action for some time in a state of considerable exasperation. In an evil moment for himself, a namesake of the defaulter passed the door; he was seized at once by Keate's order, and brought to the block as a vicarious sacrifice—a second Sir Mungo Malagrowth. Such legends may not always bear the strictest investigation; but they have at least the kind of truth which some Romanist writers claim for certain apocryphal *Acta Sanctorum*—they show "what sort of deeds were done." Etonians of that day narrate them with a kind of pride, as savouring of the heroic; they tell,

with something of the gusto with which a fox-hunter talks of "a very fast thing," of the number of boys whom Keate would finish off (and in workmanlike style) in twenty minutes. Rapid as the performance was, there was as much ceremonial etiquette observed then as now; two collegers always "assisting" to hold the culprit down to the block—an office which does not tend to improve their social relations with the oppidans, and which it might be wise on the part of the authorities to discontinue.

There was a wholesale execution on one occasion, the more terrible as having taken place at night. The lower fifth form, for some general offence or other, were ordered to attend the eight o'clock "absence" (from which they were ordinarily exempt) until the end of the half. This would have been bearable but for its interference with the boat-suppers at Surly on Saturdays. Some of the boys belonged to the crews, and the rest took up their cause, and agreed to absent themselves in a body. On the next Saturday, only two weak-spirited individuals out of about eighty answered to their names. Justice in this case was speedy as well as sure. Masters were sent round to summon the guilty parties from their respective boarding-houses

(most of them out of their beds) into Keate's awful presence, and before midnight all were duly castigated—and went to bed again.

A letter from one of the victims gives a lively picture of the scene :—

“The infliction of this extra ‘*Absence*’ had continued a week, and was the cause, it may be supposed, of much grumbling; but when at the end of a few more days no sign of remission was given, we began to take a serious view of matters, and to consider that something must be done. A race night, I think, of the Upper Boats, was coming on, and, how originating I know not, but a sudden report was spread that there was to be no *absence* called that evening. No doubt we were ready to believe what we devoutly wished; accordingly we adjourned to the river, and when Keate proceeded to his accustomed post, the school-yard was totally deserted, and the school was represented by a half-silly fellow, peeping out from the door of lower chamber.

“An innovation in school discipline had been lately made, in allowing a fifth-form boy to decline being flogged, the alternative being that he must leave the school forthwith. I rather imagine that there was some intention to claim this privilege

generally in the present case. It would, however, have been a most awkward thing to send away a fourth part of the school, and there is little doubt that next day an organised resistance would have been established. But Keate had not taught Latin for nothing. "*Divide et impera*" was a useful motto in present circumstances; and no sooner were we safe in our tutors' and dames' houses, than he summoned a council of war, with the result of which we were very shortly made acquainted.

"There had been some talk about our evening proceedings, and suppositions were hazarded as to 'what next.' I was just comfortably asleep at about a quarter past eleven, when a light appeared in my room, and my tutor, Pickering (a great favourite with us, his first pupils), stood before me in cap and gown.

"'B——,' he said, 'I have come to ask you whether you intentionally stayed away from the absence this evening?'

"'Why, yes, sir, I think I did.'

"'Then perhaps you will have no objection to come with me, and tell Dr Keate so?'

"'Oh'—I answered, not exactly seeing the necessity for such a step at that most unseasonable

hour—‘I will, to-morrow; I am sure he will believe you, if you will tell him.’

“‘I had much rather that he heard it from *you*: indeed you will really greatly oblige me if you will come with me at once and explain the matter to him.’

“Such an appeal was unanswerable, and I promised to be ready in a few minutes. He was waiting in the hall, where I found four fellow-delinquents already assembled. Headed by him, we sallied out towards the school-yard, instead of Keate’s house. It was a dark night, but we could hear the movements of others in various quarters. A single lamp was over Keate’s chambers, and by its light we could see a group of figures at each pillar of the row of arches under the Upper School. My tutor led us to a vacant one, and there was a dead silence. We could see by the reflection that there were lights in the room above. Presently a clattering of feet, and down came half-a-dozen fellows. We could not see who they were, or speak to them, and they turned under the archway and vanished. This was repeated more than once, successive groups vacating their post and ascending the stairs. The “explanation” did not seem to take up much time. I have an idea that my feelings

were somewhat akin to those I recollect in earlier days at Cartwright's the dentist, when waiting in a long dining-room, and seeing others ushered in to his sanctum, and coming out, holding their handkerchiefs to their mouths, but rather happy than otherwise. However, our turn soon came. My tutor went forward to the door, and having, I supposed, given in his list of candidates for honours, returned with a most polite, 'Now, if you please,' ushered us to the foot of the stairs, and started off in search of further victims. A collegier with about a dozen long rods was handing them fresh and fresh to Keate, who with a very dignified air cast the used ones behind him. 'Now for the explanation,' thought I. Looking at his list, he called my name — 'B——, I did not expect this of you — kneel down.' Practice makes perfect ; and perhaps knowing that there was plenty of work before him he was unusually expeditious. Upon dismissal, acting on the principle of 'business first, pleasure afterwards,' finding myself rather wide awake, and at liberty, I adjourned to a neighbouring dame's, and in a friend's room obtained something for supper ; and an hour afterwards, when I retired once more to bed at nearly one in the morning, the work of castigation was still in pro-

gress. A few stood out, but finding themselves in a minority, submitted with a good grace, and so our incipient rebellion came to an ignominious end."

It was not easy for a culprit to plead a successful excuse before Keate, if once his name was in the bill for punishment. But one escape will long be remembered, though no narration can do justice to its highly ridiculous circumstances. A boy who grew up afterwards to be one of Eton's most cherished names—the more so because cut off in early manhood—had got into trouble, and was looking forward to his first flogging with some nervousness. Some mischievous schoolfellows recommended a preparation of *gall-nuts* as an infallible recipe for making the surface to which it was applied insensible to pain. The result will be readily understood by those who know the composition of ink—and is certainly one of those cases better imagined than described. It was impossible to put in an appearance before the Doctor in that state; a strictly private consultation with his tutor (the Eton boy's usual resource in difficulties) ended in that gentleman's waiting upon Keate, and explaining the impossibility of the impending operation being performed without great risk to the gravity of

both head-master and attendant collegers ; and a "*pœna*" of some hundred lines was accepted in commutation.

There was an outbreak at one period of Keate's rule—in 1818—the nearest approach to a rebellion at Eton within present memory. For nearly a week the school was almost in a state of anarchy. It was caused chiefly by impatience of Keate's general bearing and language towards the boys, but the immediate grievance was an alteration in the hour of locking up.

"You ask for an impartial account of it," writes an Etonian friend who saw it. "Well, it was a foolish, cowardly, and ferocious outbreak on the part of the boys. Great evils had arisen from the lateness of the hour (6 P.M.) at which they were locked up in the winter, and Keate resolved to mend matters by turning the key at five, to the which the school generally demurred. Windsor Fair, which was going on at the time, afforded ample means for supplying the commissariat with eggs, and the mutineers generally with whistles, crackers, and detonating balls. This warfare, carried on in the dim light of afternoon school, lasted for several days, until the more audacious of the rebels entered the school and smashed the head-

master's desk, exhibiting him, during the next lesson-time, on a bare scaffold, something like a diminutive Charles I. An unhappy little collegier was pounced upon as a suspected vedette; he was imprisoned in Chambers, and, under the pressure of the *peine forte et dure*, at last revealed the culprits. They were summarily and publicly expelled. There was something solemn in the proceeding; for it was then generally believed that expulsion involved ruin in after life—that the army, navy, and universities rejected the expelled, and that the follies of a boy were to be more heavily visited than the sins of a man. One incident I well remember: as Keate passed sentence, I saw the tears rise to the eyes of one of the masters and flow down his cheeks. He is the only one of the whole staff now living—may God bless his kindly old heart! That Keate was right throughout does not admit of a shadow of doubt; but somehow he always had an unlucky way of acting right in a wrong manner. He had, as Kinglake truly says, 'the pluck of ten battalions;' but he was always parading his battalions; he always acted fiercely as well as firmly; he was an utter infidel as to the existence of chivalry in boys. Still, he was a great scholar, an elegant poet, a capital teacher; and we must not

hold lightly the man who has flogged half the ministers, secretaries, bishops, generals, and dukes of the present century.

“There has been but stingy recognition of Keate’s merits as a head-master. On examining the lists of Cambridge prizemen from 1816 to 1826, I find the following results—and we must remember that every Eton man at the university between those dates was Keate-taught *pur et simple*:—

	Total.	Eton.
Browne’s Medallists,	26	22
Prize Comp., Latin and English, . .	15	5
Chancellor’s Medal,	20	1
Porson Prize,	10	2
Chanc. Eng. Medal,	10	3
Craven Scholars,	7	2
Battye do.,	2	1

or considerably more than one-third of the classical prizes which were open to the world.”

“‘You have seen,’ said an old schoolfellow high in university honours and office, ‘only the rough side of Keate. I called at Hartley not long ago, and on the grass in front of the house stood the old man with his coat off, surrounded by a parcel of happy children, boys and girls, playing baby-cricket. The first words I heard

were — 'Mrs Keate, that's not fair — petticoat before wicket.'" *

An anecdote which Mr Coleridge tells in his evidence before the late Commission refers to an earlier outbreak of a similar character, and speaks strongly for Keate's generosity.

"A boy in school threw a large stone at the head-master's head in the middle of school-time. What the master would have done had he not been a sensible and generous man, I do not know; it

* Mrs Keate was a very elegant woman. In the year 1814, during a match with Epsom, the Eton champion, John Harding, scored 74—an extraordinary number in those days, when the bowling generally beat the bat. It called forth a poem from a clever collegier (" Marshal " Stone *), in which were the following lines. The Doctor saw them, and was vastly amused by them :—

" No vulgar wood was the bat of might
That swung in the grasp of Harding wight ;
No vulgar maker's name it wore,
Nor vulgar was the name it bore.
It was a bat full fair to see,
And it drove the balls right lustily ;
Without a flaw, without a speck,
Smooth as fair Hebe's ivory neck—
It was withal so light, so neat,
The Harding called it—*Mrs Keate.*"

When the allied sovereigns were present at a fête in the gardens at Frogmore, in 1815, the King of Prussia is said to have gone up and kissed Mrs Keate,—making the excuse of her remarkable likeness to his Queen.

* See note E, Appendix.

would have been open to him to have expelled the boy on the spot; but he knew that to have adopted such a course would have been to have ruined him for life. But what he did do was to rise from his seat and say, 'I require to know who the individual was who threw that stone.' It was a boy who was unknown to him [a son of Sir George Dallas], and the boy stood up and said, 'It was I did it, sir, and I beg your pardon : ' and the master forgave him on the spot."

Keate once received a formal challenge from one of his elder scholars (he was not an Irishman) whom he had accused, perhaps erroneously, of falsehood. He gave the challenger every opportunity to withdraw his note; but the foolish boy stood upon what he considered his privileges as a gentleman, and had to leave the school.

CHAPTER VII.

UNTIL the foundation by the Duke of Newcastle, in 1829, of the scholarship which bears his name, honours at Eton (and indeed the school exercises in great measure) were confined to Latin verse. Such a limitation is not to be defended ; but there is no doubt that the consequence was that the Eton versification was very good indeed. The specimens preserved in the ‘*Musæ Etonenses*’ are chiefly those exercises which, from their excellence, were laid before the provost, by a time-honoured custom, as a claim for the weekly half-holiday called “Play,” — a ceremony which some other public schools have borrowed. In those volumes are some admirable verses by Eton celebrities of many generations—by Fox and Canning, “Bobus” Smith and William Frere, Henry Hallam and Lord Derby ; but perhaps none rivalling in beauty those by the Marquess Wellesley already men-

tioned. The average Eton education might not be very high ; but there was among the few a genuine love of elegant scholarship for its own sake, not always found in our great schools at present : few modern scholars have studied Homer like William Ewart Gladstone, and certainly none have translated him like Lord Derby.

The classical work was very much limited to Homer, Horace, and Virgil. Attic Greek was learned chiefly in a sort of private class, first established by Dr Goodall, consisting of the Sixth, and a few of the upper divisions of the Fifth. These read up for the head-master a certain amount of extra work, called "Play," because a Greek play was commonly the subject. This was almost confined to collegers, few oppidans reaching that position in the school. The Sixth Form at Eton has always been remarkably small, numbering only 20 boys, even when the total numbers exceed 800—a much smaller proportion than at any other school. It now always consists of ten collegers and ten oppidans ; consequently, few of the latter have any chance of reaching it—a manifest disadvantage, as cutting off a very legitimate object of ambition.

The numbers at Eton fell off considerably during the last year of Dr Keate's long mastership.

When he retired after his twenty-five years' service, Edward Craven Hawtrej, one of the assistant-masters, succeeded him. He introduced into the school reforms which both those who approved and those who disapproved agreed in pronouncing "sweeping." Keate, who was consulted on the subject, was generous enough to recognise the courage and the wisdom of the changes, which, as he fairly said, he had grown too old to think of introducing. Hawtrej at once subdivided the overgrown forms, or divisions, as they are termed at Eton, in which above one hundred boys had worked under the same master. Keate, when head-master, had at one time in his own division nearly *two* hundred—the Sixth and the upper division of the Fifth—all of whom he was supposed to teach personally. A boy might reckon upon being called up twice or three times during the whole half-year. New assistant-masters were gradually added in some proportion to the numbers of the school: the promotion of boys in college (and consequently the regular succession to King's) was made to depend more upon the results of the examination "trials," and not, as before, almost entirely upon seniority of admission. Up to this time, a boy's place on the foundation was secured

to him once for all at his entrance, unless he forfeited it by some gross idleness or misconduct. "Little children are sent to Eton," says a young contemporary writer in the 'Etonian,' "hardly escaped from petticoats, and in a sort of manner predestinated for King's: they work their way upwards by degrees—by removes." Even if a boy came to the school at first as an oppidan, as was common, still, if he was "entered for college," upon his election he took his place above all those who were entered subsequently; so that the object, of course, was to enter the school as early as possible, if "King's" was an object of ambition; while, in order to avoid the notorious hardships to which the lower boys in college were subject, it had become not unusual for a candidate to postpone his actual standing for election until the very last year in which he was eligible. A child was actually admitted in 1820 as an oppidan, when he was four and a half years old.

These changes made Dr Hawtrey unpopular at first with the boys—schoolboys are wonderfully conservative—as well as with some of the older masters. There were tremendous hootings when the new head-master appeared at "Absence;" and such of the assistant-masters as were supposed to

have aided the new reforms by their advice and support, were mobbed on their going in and out of evening school on the dark winter days, and saluted with discharges of squibs and crackers intended to be anything but complimentary. But the feeling soon wore away, and the school grew and prospered. The numbers, in 1846, reached the hitherto unprecedented mark of 777.

The annals of the school under Hawtrey were tolerably peaceful, and therefore perhaps somewhat duller than the stirring times of Keate. The principal "difficulties" arose out of the Fifth of November celebrations, and the accompanying attempts at bonfires and fireworks in the quadrangle. One year these proceedings ended in the expulsion of some of the ringleaders, and the popular ferment was very great in consequence. But Hawtrey showed a good deal of tact and moderation, and in the end this was appreciated by the school. A great sensation was occasioned one Fourth of June by the disappearance from that chamber of horrors known as the "Library" of the flogging-block. The well-known Marquess of Waterford, with one or two companions who had just left Eton, entered the room by an open window (by walking along the stone ledge from one of the windows of Upper

School), forced the lock of the door from within, and carried their prize off in triumph in spite of an attempt to stop them on the part of the college watchman. The trophy is still in existence at Curraghmore, but it is needless to say that its place at Eton has been filled by an efficient substitute.

Of Hawtrey's successors, Dr Goodford (now provost) and Dr Balston, this chronicle shall be silent. That Eton's reputation has not suffered in their hands, may be sufficiently gathered from the fact of there being now 825 names on the school list.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE seventy scholars on the foundation are elected annually, as vacancies occur, by the provost, vice-provost, and head-master of Eton, and the provost and two fellows of King's College (called "posers" —more properly "opposers"), who come down to Eton for the purpose, generally about the end of July. In old times they rode from Cambridge to Eton with their servants and sumpter-horses. Charges occur regularly in the college accounts for their entertainment, as well as for "horse-bread" for their geldings. It is curious to notice the gradual increase in refinement in the matter of their accommodation; from the "rushes" for their chamber, and the bedstead (apparently only one) that was "borrowed" for them in 1569 and 1571, to the luxury of linen sheets provided in the next century. The sum of five shillings was "distributed amongst them," as the customary

honorarium, so late as 1767. Much form and ceremony was wont to be observed on the occasion, which under the freedom of modern habits has been gradually disused. The two provosts used to meet at the College gates, and greet each other with the "kiss of peace," even within present memory, and many other antique courtesies passed between the Eton and Cambridge electors. The senior college still welcomes the visitors, as at Winchester, with a Latin oration at the gates. The election itself, until within the last few years, had become a mere matter of private nomination. By the original statutes it was to be entirely open, with the exception of a few preferential claims which have been mentioned; and up to Queen Elizabeth's time, if the Latin "*Consuetudinarium*" then drawn up is to be trusted, it had continued to be so. Notice was to be posted on the college gates seven weeks before the election, announcing that the royal foundation was free to all boys "*liberalis ingenii et egregiæ indolis*," and charging the electors to choose the fittest out of all Britain. But there is sufficient record that from very early times—perhaps even from the first—the appointments were looked upon more or less as pieces of patronage, for which interest was continually made. The notice was put

up as usual ; but the election came to this, that the provost of Eton nominated to the first vacancy, the provost of King's to the second, the vice-provost of Eton to the third, and so on through the four other electors, each taking his proportion of patronage according to this amicable arrangement. As to examination,—there was an examination of the candidates, certainly; and this is the account given of it in 1811 by a living witness :—

“One of the assistant-masters ‘coached’ the boys before they went to the examination. Passages were selected from those books which we were in the habit of doing—a few verses from ‘Farnaby,’ a fable of Æsop, a piece of Cæsar or Ovid—but they were all prepared beforehand with the passages. The electors had copies of the books put before them, and the junior ‘poser,’ who had the arrangement and labour of the election, just opened the book and turned down the leaf at the passage; A was called on to construe a line, and B another, and so on. Certain questions were then asked in the shape of parsing, and that was the amount of examination for those boys who went in to college.” *

* Evidence of the Provost of King's College. Public Schools Report, iii. p. 284.

There were seldom more candidates, however, than vacancies in those days, owing to the hardships and discomforts of college. The same witness remembers one case of a boy being rejected: "it was found utterly impossible to get him to decline *bonus*, and on that occasion all the electors were of opinion that he really was not eligible." Attempts at a reform in this matter were often made by individuals, but without success until 1820, when the examination was made rather more of a reality. It was not until Dr Hawtrey's reign, however, that much real reform took effect. For the last twenty years the election has been by a perfectly open competition, and the number of candidates far exceeds the vacancies. The result is that the collegers are always, in point of ability, the *élite* of the school.

A similar change has taken place in the election to the scholarships at King's College. The King's scholars (who alone are eligible) no longer go off by seniority in regular rotation, as vacancies occur, but four are now elected annually by a strictly competitive examination. Until this last alteration, the number who might succeed in each year was quite uncertain; sometimes there were as many as seven or eight vacancies, sometimes not

more than one or two. It might even happen (as it did so late as 1842) that there were "no places;" and even the captain of the school would have to wait another year for his election, supposing him to be fortunate enough not to be superannuated—for none are eligible after nineteen.

The condition of the collegers remained, for many generations, apparently little altered from what it had been in the days when the complaint was made to Laud. The Eton witnesses who were examined before the Royal Commission only confirmed the account of it which might have been heard from every living Etonian who had suffered under the system. Not the strongest love for their old school, nor the peculiar *esprit de corps* which has always marked the King's scholars, could check the unanimous reprobation with which they spoke of the arrangements which were allowed, by the neglect and indifference (to say no worse) of those in authority, to disgrace a liberal foundation for the sons of gentlemen. Things reached their worst under the long provostship of Dr Goodall. It is sad to remember that, during the thirty years of his absolute and irresponsible power, he should have shown himself so utterly neglectful of the rights and interests of the scholars of the noble

foundation over which he presided. While their expenses were little less than those of the oppidans—for a collegier's bills amounted to £80 or £100 a-year when the oppidans' were lower than at present—"they had," says an Etonian writer, "all the discomfort and degradation of charity-boys." Perhaps this is rather strong language; but the discomforts, at any rate, were very great—so great, that for many years the numbers were not kept up. Instead of 70 scholars there were at one time not more than 35. In one year there were but six candidates for forty vacancies. Not all the prospective advantages of King's could induce parents to send young boys to encounter such hardships and deprivations. They were lodged, as they might have been from the original foundation, in one large and three small chambers, where they were supposed to live, and work, and sleep. They hired for themselves, as was almost a necessity, a room somewhere in the town (of course at an additional expense), where they took their breakfast and tea, and lodged during the day. These private rooms were considered sacred from the intrusion of any master or college authority, and their occupants were, so far, not amenable to the slightest control; but the comfort and independence of this domicile

was no doubt very highly enjoyed. There was no breakfast at all provided for them in college. The dinners consisted entirely of mutton until about 1840, when Provost Hodgson added roast and boiled beef, each one day in the week. Though the mutton was always of excellent quality, the manner in which it was served (to say nothing of the want of variety) made it often impossible for a young boy who had not a robust appetite to get any dinner at all that he could eat. The joints were served in messes, a leg or a shoulder serving for eight boys, a loin or neck for six—the best joints going to the elder boys. They were put upon the table, and the boys carved for themselves. The captain of the joint cut his own portion liberally from the best part, and passed it on to the next in seniority, who slashed away at it after his own taste. It may be imagined what sort of chance was left for the junior, if the joint happened to be a loin or a shoulder, and he had not appetite enough for the fat and bones. The knives and forks often ran short, and he was obliged sometimes to be content with the reversion of those modern conveniences—which, perhaps the authorities might have argued, were not contemplated by their pious founder. There was on Sundays the addition, for

such as could eat it, of plum-pudding of a peculiar construction, made of unchopped suet and unstoned raisins. The beer, which was often very bad, was drunk out of painted tin mugs, which gave it anything but a relish.* At eight o'clock every evening the doors of the lower school passage were locked; and from that time until seven in the morning, or half-past in the winter, when they were unlocked again for school, the collegers were left entirely to themselves; for the masters, who originally slept in the same building, had long removed into their private houses; and it is only of late years that a special assistant-master has been appointed to live in college, and exercise some sort of domestic superintendence over the boys. It may be imagined that Long Chamber became the scene of considerable irregularities. The Sixth

* A discussion took place on one occasion amongst the authorities on the question whether it was necessary that the collegers should in future have their potatoes peeled, like other civilised beings, or sent up in their skins. Two of the fellows at that time bore the same name, though not related. One was an advocate for the peeling system—declaring that the boys had been treated “like hogs;” the other opposed it, as an unnecessary piece of refinement. They were distinguished by the collegers in future as “Hog R——” and “Peeli-po R——;” and the descendants of both families, who were in the school for many generations, always bore the hereditary nicknames of “Hogs” and “Peelipos.”

Form did just as they pleased ; and if any among them were vicious or tyrannical, the life of a junior was sometimes very miserable indeed. A good deal of his time out of school passed in the combined occupations of valet, cook, housemaid, and shoeblack to his master ; but that was endurable enough, if, like those functionaries in the outer world, he was allowed to have his meals and his sleep in peace, which was a blessing by no means secure to him. He might have to sit up half the night to arrange and attend upon a late Sixth-form supper (frequently including the concoction of a bowl of punch) ; or if he had the luck to get into his bed (where he found scant bed-clothes and no pillow) in tolerably good time, he had a good chance of being awoke by the sudden tilting of his bedstead, and finding himself half-smothered, heels upwards, in the darkness. Many of the scenes which Long Chamber saw during successive generations of occupants it may be well to bury in oblivion ; but its reminiscences had also their comic side, which, if not remarkably edifying, was harmless enough. Never, probably, were performances more thoroughly enjoyed, or productive of more uproarious fun both to actors and audience, than the theatricals which were there got up, before the

more ambitious amateurs set up their establishment in Datchet Lane ; and certainly never were suppers more enjoyed than those which were brought in surreptitiously through "lower-chamber window" from the old "Christopher." There was at least some excuse for this contraband supply ; for there was no such meal as tea, and the college supper consisted exclusively of fat breasts of mutton. The old story of the sow who was carried up to the leads of the roof when in an "interesting" condition, and there fed upon the fragments of the hall dinners until every one of her young family in succession supplied roast pig for Long Chamber suppers, though often denounced as apocryphal, rests upon better authority than a poet's licence ;* and it is an undoubted fact that a donkey—though with what possible motive is hard now to conjecture, as there could be no hope of suppers from that quarter—was kept in chamber for at least one night, and regaled with the unaccustomed luxury of veal-pie. Ducks and fowls were fattened to per-

* " By night we dragged her to the college tower
From her warm bed, and up the cork-screw stair
With hand and rope we haled the groaning sow,
And on the leads we kept her till she pigged.
. . . We took them all, till she was left alone
Upon her tower, the Niobe of swine."

—TENNYSON, *Walking to the Mail*.

fection there by the fags, and eaten with great satisfaction by their masters.

It may easily be supposed that, with such a variety of occupants, Long Chamber stood in need of occasional purification. It was nominally swept out by the college servants every morning; but cobwebs hung from the roof in picturesque profusion, and under and behind the beds disturbing brush or broom seldom penetrated. Once in the year, just before election week, there was a solemn lustration. All animal lodgers, except the boys, were banished by authority, and the floor—which was never known to be washed—was polished after a highly original and ingenious fashion known as “rug-riding.” A strong rug from one of the beds was gathered up in the fashion of a hammock, with a folded blanket for a seat, and a rope made fast to it, to which were attached, at due intervals, two or three cricket-stumps crosswise. A heavy boy sat, or rather lay back, in the hollow of the rug, holding on by each side, while a team of four or six others, laying hold of the stumps to pull by, dragged him as fast as they could go up and down the chamber. An hour or so of this process left a very tolerable polish on the floor—and upon the person of the rug-rider. The beds were then covered with grand

green cloth rugs, and the room decorated with green boughs—of which waggon-loads were brought from Burnham Beeches and Hedgerley for the occasion—a very ancient mode of decoration, alluded to in the “*Consuetudinarium*” before quoted, and common to other public school anniversaries. In this holiday trim it was supposed to be ready for the inspection of visitors, who then, as now, thronged Eton in election week.

But Long Chamber, with all its traditions, good or evil, is now a thing of the past. It was totally altered in 1844; the scholars now have each their separate room, where they sleep and study, except a few of the juniors, who occupy a small dormitory partitioned off into cubicles. The invariable mutton has given place to roast beef two days in the week: the head-master, or his deputy, dines in hall; and the breakfast and tea are as comfortably arranged as in the oppidan boarding-houses.

Formerly these houses were almost entirely kept by “Dames” or “Dominies,”—the latter being the old style when there was a male head of the establishment, though now the term “Dame” applies to all without reference to sex. Tutors and assistant-masters used to live in most of these houses,

but had no charge over the boys. Only the lower-master and some of the senior assistant-masters kept houses of their own. There are now twenty boarding-houses kept by masters, and ten by "Dames,"—of whom four only are ladies. Some of these latter have as few as ten boys in their house, and the younger ones take all their meals with them, and come into the drawing-room in the evenings. In some of the masters' houses there are as many as fifty. If there is any fault with the commissariat in any of these establishments, it may be safely said to be the prevalent modern error of encouraging boys in luxury.

A peculiarity in the arrangements at Eton is, that the school is practically divided into two. The division seems to have been in force from the very earliest times—the three lower forms having been then, as now, under the charge of the *ostiarius*, or, as he is now called, the lower-master, who has the appointment of his own assistants, and is practically independent of the head-master, and subject only to the control of the provost. This lower school has been comparatively remodelled of late years. Very much of the improvement was due to Mr Coleridge while lower-master, and it has continued since. Boys are entered in this

department as early as seven years old—in fact, as soon as they are able to read, and often when they can hardly write. Though nominally members of a great public school, they are really secured from most of the dangers and difficulties which might be supposed to make such a school objectionable for very young boys. Ever since 1842 a separate boarding-house has been set apart for these, and they have even a separate playground into which no upper boy may intrude. They take all their meals under domestic superintendence, and, in fact, lead a much more “home”-like life than at many schools which are called private. The Eton authorities are probably right in considering that there is no school more desirable for a boy in delicate health. That the arrangements are popular with parents may be concluded from the fact, that whereas some years ago—from 1834 to 1839—the numbers in this lower school varied from 22 to 11, they have lately reached 150. It is intended eventually to have two large boarding-houses confined exclusively to these boys, so as to take in all whose friends desire it.

The jealousy between collegers and oppidans was at one time very strong, and led to a very reprehensible amount of ill-feeling. It seems to have

been at its height about thirty or forty years ago ; for before that time they appear to have mixed together much more amicably. There was, of course, some difference of social position between the two classes in many individual cases ; but this has never been sufficient to account of itself for the superiority assumed by the oppidans ; for there have always been amongst the King's scholars many boys of good and well-known family. The traditionary hardships and roughnesses of their life in college may seem partly the explanation ; and the slovenly and forlorn appearance of some of the lower boys, who were condemned to that life at an early age, was enough to discredit the whole body in the eyes of their more fortunate schoolfellows. But in the schoolboy life, the mere fact of a distinctive dress and a separate domicile is sufficient to account for a good deal of antagonistic feeling, which exists under the same circumstances at other schools, though not so strongly developed. Nor is this antagonism wholly the result of an assumption of superiority on the oppidans' part ; there is also "a defensive pride" on the part of the collegers. The animosity used formerly to be such that an oppidan never ventured, of his own free will, into the college hall or into Long Chamber : though, if

a lower boy, he was sometimes called in by a collegier who had the right to fag him, and employed to perform some menial office, in retaliation for the insults which were continually being heaped upon the collegiers outside their own domain. The snow-balling fights between the two bodies had more earnest than sport in them : and in these the collegiers' gowns served them as shields, and gave them a better chance of holding their own against superior numbers. At present, the great struggle is at the annual football match "at the wall," upon St Andrew's Day, between the picked elevens of each body. In this fierce contest a good deal of "spite" is shown—more than in the most savage days of the Sixth-form match at Rugby—and the "chaff" is fast and furious. If the collegiers gain the victory, prudence generally counsels a retreat as soon as possible into their own fastnesses (especially for the younger boys who have been cheering on their champions) in order to escape vengeance from the overwhelming numbers of their irate antagonists. But, on the whole, the relations between the two bodies have become much more peaceable, if not very cordial, of late : and though we are told in evidence that it is still "almost a natural thing for a small oppidan to dislike a small collegier," yet,

as boys rise into the upper part of the school, this feeling wears off.

Fagging at Eton has now become almost nominal, except in college. The privilege belongs to the Sixth Form, and to the whole of the Fifth except the lowest division. These last hold a neutral position ; and all below the Fifth (about 400) are fags. Unlike most other public schools, there is no fagging either at football or cricket ; the latter was abolished by Dr Hawtrey. In the boarding-houses a fag has little more to do than to bring up the kettle for his master's breakfast, boil his eggs, and toast his bread—which a slovenly lower boy is sometimes accused of doing over his lamp, as the most expeditious method of at least blacking it. The same services are required from him at tea ; and, with the exception of carrying an occasional message, this is about the amount of work which an oppidan fag has to do ; and this only lasts until he gets into the Fifth Form, which many boys do now within their first year. Even in college, the life of a fag is liberty itself compared with older days. A junior collegier calls his master at half-past six or seven, makes his tea and toast, and sometimes has to wait, if the senior be more than usually exacting ; and as he has also to attend an

early construe with his tutor, this may have the result of throwing back his own breakfast until as late as ten o'clock—the only real hardship in the matter. At the college dinner three lower boys (called *servitors*) wait to hand the plates and pour out beer : their dinner is half an hour later, with the “upper servitor”—one of the higher boys, who superintends the hall economy. The duties fall heavier upon individual fags in college, owing to these being fewer in proportion to their masters : there are seldom more than twelve lower boys, whose services are divided amongst the ten Sixth-form, and the senior Fifth-form collegier.

The old monitorial or Sixth-form authority has almost ceased to exist at Eton. It is singular that a form of government which was adopted there, probably at the original foundation of the college, from the Winchester model, and which was imported into both Harrow and Rugby, according to the most reliable traditions, by their Etonian head-masters, should have survived in the two younger schools as well as in its original birthplace, improved and developed, not weakened, by the lapse of time, but should have fallen into complete abeyance at Eton. “In theory, the ten first oppidans and the seven first collegiers have still moni-

torial power ;" but in practice, the former rarely exercise it—never, unless by special direction of the masters. Even in college this authority is now seldom put in force, and the instances are becoming more and more exceptional. The right to set punishments is admitted to belong to the Sixth form generally, but not that of inflicting any kind of personal chastisement, except amongst the collegers. In fact, as one of the younger witnesses before the late Commission expressively phrased it, "It is not thought the thing for a Sixth-form oppidan to lick a boy." Such a corrective process would be more tolerated by Eton public opinion if it were performed by the captain of the boats. It is only within the last twenty years or so that the Sixth-form authority has fallen into such total disuse ; and the Eton masters, in their evidence before the Royal Commissioners, are not entirely agreed as to the change having been altogether beneficial ; "it has perhaps a tendency to exalt physical above literary success." It is admitted by all parties that "the boys throughout the school are very greatly influenced and controlled by leading boys who have earned their eminence in games ;" but it is argued on the other hand that this, together with "the practice of the masters to use these natural leaders

as their occasional agents in communicating their views and wishes in cases where they think it right to avoid direct interference," works better in practice than what is called the monitorial system.*

One form of punishment used by a Sixth-form boy for a misdemeanor in a junior is peculiar to Eton, and probably dates from a very early period. He sets the offender to compose an epigram in English, Greek, or Latin, at his option—usually of four lines. The amount of point required from the unwilling poet appears to be indefinite; and these performances have probably suffered considerably in this respect, since one very tempting resource has been cut off. It was usual for the author to turn such wit as he might possess against the imposer of the penalty—and, if fairly done, it was held perfectly lawful; but this kind of retaliation on the victim's part has long been forbidden.

* See Appendix to Public Schools Report, pp. 128, 133, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

THE most peculiar and striking of all old Eton customs is now a thing of the past, though never to be forgotten by any who have been present, whether as actors or spectators—the MONTEM, or more properly "*Ad Montem*," procession. In its later phases, as known to any now living, it was a muster of the whole school in a sort of semi-military array, with band and colours, to march out to a mound in a field about a mile and a half distant—the well-known Salt-Hill—where the "ensign" waved his flag, the boys cheered, and the ceremony so far was over. The professed object was to collect from the crowds of visitors who were always gathered on the occasion, contributions of money, called "*Salt*," to supply the "*captain*" of the day—the head colleger—with funds for his Cambridge expenses. For this purpose two "*Salt-bearers*"—

usually the second in seniority of the collegers and the captain of the oppidans—assisted by some ten or twelve “runners” or “servitors,” and all dressed in fancy costumes, scoured all the approaches to Windsor and Eton within the county of Buckingham (for the collection of “salt” was confined, for some traditionary reason, to those limits) and levied contributions, by a sort of civil compulsion, from every comer, from the nobleman in his carriage-and-four to the rustic on foot. The cry was “Salt, Salt!” for which embroidered bags were held forth, and anything accepted, from sixpence to a fifty-pound note. In return, the donor received a little blue ticket, with a Latin motto upon it—“*Mos pro Lege*,” and “*Pro More et Monte*,” were latterly used in alternate years; and this ticket, stuck in the hat or otherwise shown, protected the bearer for the rest of the day from any further demand. The salt-bearers and their satellites carried staves of office, on which were also inscribed mottoes, more or less appropriate, according to the wit or fancy of the wearer—“*Mutat quadrata rotundis*” (the *square* ticket for the *round* coin)—“Εξ ἀλας ἄγρεα”—“*Cum sale panis*”—or some such classical facetiæ. There is a tradition at Eton, which rests upon

tolerable authority, that when His Majesty William III., soon after his accession, was either passing through the town or attending the Montem, his carriage was stopped on the Bath road by the salt-bearers, according to custom ; and that his Dutch guards, not understanding such a daring interruption of the royal progress, drew their swords to cut down the offenders, and were only stopped by the King. The sums collected varied very much in amount ; they have been known to amount to above £1000 ; but out of this the captain had to pay sundry expenses for the day, including a breakfast given to all the Sixth and Fifth Forms, and a dinner to his friends afterwards—seldom, in fact, netting more than half the proceeds. There was also a custom of the boys parading after Montem in the gardens belonging to the Windmill Inn at Salt-Hill, where the “sergeants” and “corporals” fleshed their maiden swords upon the shrubs and flowers *ad libitum* : for these and all other damages the captain had to pay out of the “salt ;” and, if he were unpopular, the bill was purposely made a heavy one. In the procession, every boy in the Sixth Form ranked as a sergeant, and every Fifth-form boy as corporal ; there were also, besides the captain, a marshal, colonel, lieutenant, ensign, and

sergeant-major. These all wore an officer's red dress-coat, with a cocked hat and sword; and the appearance of some of the younger and slighter boys in this costume was ludicrous in the extreme. Not so the fancy dresses of the salt-bearers and servitors, and of the "*servants*," as they were called, who followed after the captain and other commissioned officers in the procession; these, especially in later years (for at one time they were hired from some theatrical warehouse), were often exceedingly rich and tasteful. Turks, Albanians, courtiers of Charles II. and George I., Highlanders and hidalgos, mixed together in this strange mid-day masque with the handsomest and best-dressed women in London, who came down to see their sons or their brothers in this ephemeral glory, made the gardens at Salt-Hill and the school-yard, on a bright May day, one of the gayest sights that can well be imagined. The lower boys followed in the procession, one or two behind each Fifth-form "*corporal*," as "*polemen*," dressed in the Eton costume of blue jacket and white trousers, and carrying long thin wands, which, at the close of the ceremonial in the school-yard, were cut in two by the swords of the corporals. The red coats used at one time to be worn by the boys up to the end of

the half-year.* George III., for nearly forty years, seldom missed being present, which gave it all the prestige of royalty. The King and Queen both took the greatest interest in the proceedings, and his Majesty's contribution in the way of *salt* was usually fifty guineas.

But besides the military features of the day, there was, in earlier times, a very curious addition to the *dramatis personæ*—a “*parson*” and a “*clerk*,” represented by two of the senior boys—possibly a relic of an earlier festival. They read upon Salt-Hill some kind of burlesque Latin service; and when it was concluded, the “*parson*” solemnly kicked the “*clerk*” down the hill, to the intense delight of the rustic portion of the spectators. This not very edifying proceeding continued until Queen Charlotte's first visit to the festival; when that worthy and decorous lady was so shocked at the uncanonical behaviour of the representatives of the Church, that (to her

* This may perhaps explain a paragraph in the ‘Gentleman's Magazine’ for 1817, which has puzzled many old Etonians of that date. It is stated that, on the day after the Montem of that year, “the young gentlemen walked in grand procession, in their full Montem dresses, headed by their masters, to Frogmore, where they had been invited by the Queen.” No such fancy procession took place; but the Sixth and Fifth Form would go, as a matter of course, in their red coats.

great credit) she made it a personal request that the concluding ceremony might be omitted in future programmes.

The earliest account of a Montem that can be found in print is that quoted by Brand from the 'Public Advertiser' of 1778. On that occasion Charles Hayes was captain; Charles Simeon was marshal; Sumpter was lieutenant; Goodall (afterwards head-master and provost) was ensign; Brown was "captain of oppidans;" and Barrow was "parson," with Reeves for his "clerk." The Latin service, whatever it was, was read as usual; "the clerk was dressed in the fashion of '45, and created great amusement." The King and Queen were both present, and gave fifty guineas each. In 1793 it was held on Whit-Tuesday; they then marched round the school-yard, and thence into "stable-yard," where they paraded before the King and Queen, the Prince of Wales, and others of the royal family, and so passed on *ad Montem*, through the playing-fields. The motto was "*Mos pro Lege*," and the salt reached £1000. The salt-bearers and runners appeared afterwards on Windsor Terrace, in their fancy costumes, "and were noticed by their Majesties." In 1796, the next occasion, the royal family were again present, and

the King and the Prince met the procession, on horseback, at Salt-Hill. The people crowded too much upon the carriage in which the Queen and Princesses were, and the King called out to some of the most forward, and asked whether they were "Etonians"—"he did not remember their faces, and was sure that Etonians were better behaved."* Henry Whitfield was the captain; and Ensign Hatch waved his flag in such "masterly style". (says the 'Gentleman's Magazine'), as to secure "the satisfaction of every person present." In 1817 the poor King was in no condition to attend, but the Queen and the Princesses attended.

The origin of this peculiar school festival is obscure. The Winchester statutes (which were adopted for Eton in almost every particular) made provision for the out-door exercise of the scholars by a daily procession "*ad Montem*" to St Catherine's Hill, outside the city walls, which is still known as

* At the Montem of 1799, one of the visitors, mounted on a fiery horse, came once or twice rather closer than was pleasant to some of the procession. A youth named Beckett, rejoicing in his red coat and sword, laid his hand on the rider's knee—"I should recommend you, my friend, not to let your horse tread upon me." The rider smiled, bowed, and reined the animal back; but the gallant Etonian was somewhat abashed to learn afterwards that it was the King of Hanover.

"going on hills," and takes place there regularly on half-holidays; and from this there can be little doubt that the term itself was borrowed. Some peculiarities in the Eton festival have led most of the antiquarian authorities to conjecture that it was originally the election of the Boy-bishop by his schoolfellows, enjoined by the statutes on December 6, St Nicholas—still kept as Founder's Day. But the "*Consuetudinarium*" of 1560 speaks of that custom as already obsolete, while it describes the Montem in considerable detail. At that time it had much of the character of an initiation of new boys into the Eton mysteries.—"The boys go *ad montem*, in the accustomed fashion, on some day fixed, at the discretion of the master, about the Conversion of St Paul (January 25). The 'hill' is a place sacred in the religion of Etonians, owing to the beauty of the country, the pleasantness of the green-sward, the coolness of its shade. They make it the revered seat of Apollo and the Muses. They celebrate it in their verses, call it 'Tempe,' prefer it to Helicon. Here the novices or freshmen (*recentes*), who have not yet learned to stand up manfully and vigorously to bear the brunt of the Eton battle, are first *seasoned with salt*, then are humorously described in verses which have as

much *salt* wit and jest in them as can be contrived. Next they make epigrams on the new boys, each vying with the other in happy turns of expression and facetiousness. Any one may give vent to whatever comes into his head, provided only it be in Latin, have no ungentlemanlike expressions, nor foul or scurrile words. Lastly, they make their cheeks run down with *salt* tears; and then, when all is over, they are initiated into all the rights and privileges of veterans."—(A custom survived to the last of the collection by the captain of a small sum, under the name of "*recent-money*," from each boy who had entered the school within the preceding year.) Something of the burlesque military character of the festival appears even in this description; and a "Captain of Montem" (Knightly Chetwood) is recorded as early as 1670. The constant allusions to *salt*, in all forms, is curious. It formed, as we know, an important item in the mystic symbols of pagan initiations, as it was also used in the Mosaic sacrifices, and in the purification of new-born children. It has long been used in the German universities—much as it appears from the passage above to have been used at Eton—for the burlesque ceremonies at the admission of the "*Beanus*" or "*Fuchs*" (freshman), to the full privileges of student-

life ; and at both our own universities, two or three generations back, it was in use on similar occasions.* The long strips attached to the fellow-commoners' gowns at Trinity, Cambridge, were once known as "salt-bags." Bryant quotes from a German account of the customs of the University of Strasburg in 1666, used in the initiatory ceremony called *depositio*. Each freshman had a pinch of salt put upon his tongue, which was explained to him by one of the professors to be the salt of wisdom—"pure, sound, and incorruptible." Wine was offered him at the same time ; and underneath the plate which depicts the ceremony, are these lines :—

"Sal sophiæ gustate, bibatis vinaque læta,
Augeat immensus vos in utrisque Deus."

How it came to represent money is not quite so clear ; it may possibly be the Roman "salarium." If Huggett's account is to be trusted, the two Eton salt-bearers used in his time to be dressed in white, and to carry each a bag of real salt, a little of which was offered to each contributor ; thus admitting him, it would seem, by this symbol, to the full privileges

* It would appear from one of John Owen's epigrams that *pepper* was used at Winchester for the purpose :—

"Oxonisæ salsus (juvenis tum) more vetusto,
Wintonisæque (puer tum) *piperatus* eram."

of an Etonian for the day at least, when he had duly "paid his footing." Within the present century, each salt-bearer was followed by a man dressed in the conventional *white* costume, who gave to every one who had made his offering, no longer a pinch of salt, but one of the tickets already mentioned. The time of year for holding the Montem continued to be winter, until the year 1758, when it was changed by Dr Barnard, then head-master, to Whitsun-Tuesday, as a more convenient and agreeable season. Dr Davies, when provost, said that he remembered a passage having to be cut from the school-yard to Salt-Hill, through the snow, for the march of the procession. The date of the change is fixed beyond doubt by a copy of Latin verses written by Benjamin Heath, as captain:—

"Jam satis instructas solito pro more cohortes
Turbidus hybernis terruit imber aquis ;

Lætior æstivo tempore pompa nitet."

From an annual festival it had come to be biennial, and was sometimes even deferred to a third year. From 1778 it was regularly triennial until its final suppression, to the great regret of most old Etonians, in 1847.

Prince Albert was present at the last celebration,

in 1844: his carriage was stopped on Windsor Bridge, and he gave the salt-bearer the royal donation of £100.

It was not without considerable hesitation and regret that Dr Hawtrey decided upon a step which brought upon him at the time some undeserved unpopularity. But the most conservative Etonians who look back calmly on the question now admit that there were good reasons for the suppression. Not to lay much stress upon the fact that the whole thing had become little more than a burlesque, wholly incongruous with the altered habits and character of the times, there were other and more serious objections. The facilities of railway travelling brought down shoals of visitors, who not only swamped the genuine Eton element, but who were too often very objectionable in themselves, and seriously injured the moral discipline of the school. The expenses had also increased very much: vested interests in cheating of all kinds, and encroachments on the natural liberality of the captain, swallowed up the larger proportion of the day's "salt." An attempt was made to check some of these evils on the last celebration, by having the dinner on Fellows' Eyot, within the college precincts, instead

of at Salt-Hill; but even this change failed to secure any reasonable amount of privacy. It ought to be known and remembered that Dr Hawtrey, aided by some Eton friends, made a present to the captain expectant of 1847, of the sum which he had ascertained to be the average of a captain's net receipts.

The senior collegier was never sure of his captaincy until twenty days before Montem. Standing as he did at the head of the roll for succession to King's College, he might, in case of a vacancy there being announced, be summoned from Eton to Cambridge at any moment; and unless he presented himself for admission within twenty days, he forfeited his claim. Therefore the night which followed the twentieth day before the Montem was called *Montem-sure-night*, and kept as high festival in college. At midnight, at the last stroke of twelve, for which all were watching, down came every bed in Long Chamber with a crash upon the oaken floor, shutters were banged to with all possible noise, every boy shouted "Montem sure!" and the captain was congratulated by his friends upon the honour which was now his surely and indefeasibly. The ceremony was kept up with all formality

to 1841, but for some reason was disused in the year of the last Montem, 1844.*

* The following is a list of the captains of Montem since 1771. The amount of "salt" collected on each occasion is added where it could be ascertained :—

1771.	Philip Dormer Stanhope.			
1773.	James Chartres.			
1775.	John Henry Jacob.			
1778.	Charles Hayes.			
1781.	John Roberts.			
1784.	Henry Dyson,			£421.
1787.	Robert Ellison,			543.
1790.	Edward Jones.			
1793.	John Greatehead Harris.			
1796.	Henry Whitfield.			
1799.	Rundle William Ford.			
1802.	John Tomkyns.			
1805.	William Heath.			
1808.	Charles Heath,			915.
1811.	Henry Thomas Dampier.			
1814.	John Barnard.			
1817.	Henry Hannington,			821.
1820.	John Wilder,			1130.
1823.	George William Barnard,			1023.
1826.	Edward H. Pickering.			
1829.	Richard Lewis Brown,			885.
1832.	George Williams,			957.
1835.	George W. Money-Kyrle,			1106.
1838.	Alfred Williams,			1186.
1841.	Edward Thring,			1250.
1844.	Bernard W. F. Drake.			

CHAPTER X.

ANOTHER curious old custom, of a much more barbarous character, and wisely abolished at a much earlier date, was the "Hunting of the Ram." It is said that the college butcher was obliged, under some ancient agreement, to provide a ram annually to be hunted by the scholars on Election Saturday. On one occasion the unfortunate animal swam the river, and rushed into the crowded market-place at Windsor with the boys in full chase; and so much mischief and confusion was the consequence, that the hunting was from that time given up; but the victim was still provided, and despatched by a process quite as cruel, and which had not even the excuse of the popular excitement of a chase. After being ham-strung to prevent his escape, he was knocked on the head in the school-yard with clubs specially provided for the occasion.*

* See the charge for a "ram-club" in Patrick's bill, p. 62, *note*.

The young Prince William (Duke of Cumberland) wielded a club as an amateur, on one of these occasions :—

“1730. Sat. Aug. 1, was celebrated at Eton the anniversary diversion of Hunting the Ram by the scholars. What made the ceremony the more remarkable was, that His R.H. Duke William was pleased to honour it with his presence. The captain of the school presented him with a ram-club, with which His Royal Highness struck the first stroke. H.R.H. was in at the death of the ram, and his club was bloodyed according to custom. There was afterwards a speech made by the captain, at which the Duke was also present. He then proceeded to see the hall, the library, the school, and the long chamber, and it was generally observed that H.R.H. returned to Windsor very well pleased.”—Rawl. MS., vol. ii. 153. It is singular that he should thus early in life have earned his title of “The Butcher.” Some verses in the ‘*Musæ Etonenses*,’ written for the ensuing Montem, commemorate this royal visit :—

“Huc ades, o puer alme, measque invise catervas
 Digna sit auspiciis bellica pompa tuis ;
 Arietis ad mortem venisti claviger ; O si
 Pollice et hos ludos fautor utroque probes !”

The green rugs, which have been mentioned among the festal decorations of Long Chamber, were a gift from the Duke to the collegers either on this or some subsequent occasion.

There is a curious memorandum of this visit, evidently made by a dissatisfied Fellow. "Mem. August 7, 1735, being the Thursday in Election week, William Duke of Cumberland attended by his Governor Mr Pointz and his Sub-Governor Mr Windham, Sir Rob. Walpole, Lord Walpole, and Edward Walpole Esqr., Lord Chancellor Talbot and his son William Talbot Esqr., the Duke of St Alban's, Lord Charles Cavendish, Lord Ila and Lord Tankerville, all bred at Eton, Duke of Devonshire, Lord Harvey, Lord Harcourt, W. Winnington and others, came to Eton to hear the publick exercises. For that purpose the Provost's hall was fitted with a haut-pas at the upper end, and a chair of state upon it, at the lower end a place was raised and railed in large enough for three boys to speak abreast. The great company sat in chairs semicircularly placed of each side the hall ; the rest stood behind. The Duke and company were first entertained at breakfast in the Election Chamber, there being three tables, the one of fruit, another of sweetmeats and cakes, and another venison pasty, &c.

Tea, coffee, and chocolate were brought as called for. I believe there was fourscore persons partook of this breakfast. The exercises began with declamations on this subject—“*Spectant me mille loquentem.*” Then followed long copies of verses on the King and Queen and Duke and Chancellor, but mostly on Sir Robert, and lastly extempore verses on the same subject but from different themes. 'Tis to be wished that these performances may be lost and forgott, that posterity may not see how abandoned this place was to flattery when Dr B——* was Provost and when Sir Robert was first minister. However, the boys performed so well, that afterwards at dinner there was a collection made of 140 guineas for the 14 boys that spoke, besides £100 given to the college. The Provost showed the designs of the Duke to be a compliment to the college, but the Provost took all possible care that we should have no share in the compliment though we had in the disposing of the present. For he received the Duke unattended by his fellowes, nor did he present them. They walked about as strangers within their own walls.”

The barbarous ceremony of Ram-hunting was abolished altogether in 1747 ; but Huggett asserts

* Bland.

that the ram still made his appearance at the high table in pasties at the Election Monday dinner at the date of his writing, 1760.

There were also unlicensed sports, of what was then thought the good old English type—bull-baiting in Bachelor's Acre, and cock-fighting in "Bedford's Yard."

CHAPTER XI.

BOATING has for many generations been one of the most popular amusements at Eton, the neighbourhood offering what an American would call "water privileges" which no other school can boast. But, until a recent date, the river has been, in theory at least, forbidden ground. The boys would boat, of course, and did boat, systematically; but the system was only winked at by the authorities. Few attempts were made, in fact, at any school, until very lately, to encourage or to methodise that valuable and needful adjunct to all mental training, active out-door exercise and amusement. The modern tendency is perhaps too much in the other direction. The reason of putting the river out of bounds was the danger incurred by boys who could not swim. The prohibition seemed justified by the number of accidents which really occurred. There is a curious old record in the col-

lege archives of an inquest held July 30, 1553, on a boy named Robert Sacheverell (or Cheverell, as he is afterwards called), who was drowned while bathing "in the playing lease," at a spot known as the "watering-place," where the stream carried him into a deep hole called "the whirlpole," which the jurors formally pronounce to be accursed as the cause of his death.* Boys were drowned from time to time, though not so often as might have been feared: amongst others, the young Earl of Waldegrave in 1794. There were many gallant instances of the rescue of boys by a schoolfellow at his own imminent risk. Lord Tullamore (second Earl Charleville), celebrated in the 'Poetry of the College Magazine' as the

"Prince of dandies, best of actors,"

saved the life of young Gronow (nephew of the captain) by diving under the weir at Boveney for him under considerable difficulties. Yet Henry Angerstein was drowned in 1820 in the full sight of the crews of the long boats, who were passing at the time, but none of whom were aware of his danger. Afterwards the boating was partially recog-

* The verdict ends with these words—" *Unde dicunt aquam illam execrabilem, et causam fuisse mortis illius. Cujus anima misereatur Deus.*"

nised by the school authorities, and watermen were appointed, one of whom was to go in each of the lower boats, to prevent accidents as far as possible. At last, after the death of Charles Montagu, who was jerked out of a boat by the tow-rope of a barge and drowned in 1840, the idea suggested itself of opening the river to those, and those alone, who had attained such proficiency in swimming as to have a fair chance of saving themselves in case of an accident. The swimming-school was organised by Mr Evans (the "Dame"), in conjunction with Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, who was then a private tutor at Eton, and had been one of the best swimmers and oarsmen* in the school. From that time forth the boats have been under the regular superintendence of one of the masters, and no fatal accident has occurred since. No boy is now allowed to go into a boat until he has passed an examination in swimming before a committee of masters at "Athens," or at Cuckoo Weir. Yet swimming has always been an Eton accomplishment, at least amongst the few; and it may be doubted whether the feats of earlier days could

* This excellence has been hereditary; his son, A. J. Selwyn, was stroke of the Cambridge University boat in 1863.

be surpassed now, with all the advantage of this special training. Fifty years ago, two boys floated on their backs all the way from Surly to "The Cobbler," below bridge; and it was no uncommon exploit to take "headers" from old Windsor bridge, especially on Sunday mornings, when the river was full, owing to the sluices being shut: an exhibition which would rather startle the Windsor and Eton public now.

There is but one school with which Eton has any opportunity of trying its real strength in an eight-oared race. Harrow, Rugby, and Marlborough—the only schools which approach in point of numbers—have no facilities for boats. Shrewsbury has a river, but the numbers there are too small to insure a good crew. Westminster alone has had any chance with Eton afloat, and in its better days made the contest pretty equal. Eton won the three first races in succession—in 1829, 1831, and 1836—but were beaten in their own water at Datchet the following year. King William IV. was present at the race, and the excitement was very great. His Majesty declared that the Eton boys lost it because Dr Hawtrey was there looking on. In this last race the boats were for the first time steered by their own coxswains,

the lines having been hitherto taken by London watermen. The distance rowed in these earlier races was much too severe a strain on the powers of endurance of mere boys: at Maidenhead, in 1831, the course was six miles. It has gradually been shortened to two miles and a half. The victory of 1847 at Putney left Eton the winners of five races out of nine. Owing to objections made by the authorities of both schools, the contest was not renewed until 1860, when Eton won again; indeed, of late years, the decreasing strength of Westminster has given them little chance against their opponents, though the smaller school has still supplied a crew to pull a losing race with all the pluck of more successful days. For the last three or four years Eton has found a new antagonist in Radley College, who have pulled against them in fair style at Henley; but in this case, as in the case of Westminster, a crew picked out of 140 boys is necessarily overmatched in weight and strength by a school which has the choice of 800.

The "captain of the boats" is perhaps the greatest person in the school next to the headmaster,—if, indeed, he does not rival that great authority in the estimation of the boys. The whole regulation of the boats, both as to the selec-

tion of the crew of the racing "eight," and of the "captains" of the several boats which form the Fourth of June procession, rests entirely with him; and as he has a great deal of this kind of patronage at his disposal, his influence is very considerable. The boat-crews are in some sort looked upon as the aristocracy of the school, and for this reason the position is an object of social ambition amongst the boys. So long as there were no public races, and the great field-day was the mere show on the Fourth of June, the selection of the crew of the first boat—the ten-oar—of which the captain always pulled stroke, was very much a matter of favouritism, and it was complained that it too often got into the hands of a clique. But since the contest with Westminster has been revived, and Eton has also put on a boat at the Henley Regatta, where they have had to try their strength against the Universities, a much fairer system of choice has necessarily prevailed, and the captain picks his crew from the best oarsmen in the school, without reference to the "set" in which they may be. The expenses of the amusement are very considerable—much more so than they need be. The old boat-builders have a sort of monopoly, and exorbitant charges of every kind are kept up by custom, which

schoolboys are not apt to dispute. For this reason it has never hitherto been the custom for the King's scholars (who may be supposed, as a rule, to be the sons of less wealthy parents) to join the regular boats at all, though they use the river, of course, like the rest of the school, and of late years a boat manned exclusively by collegers forms part of the procession on the Fourth of June. A colleger, however, was in the "eight" last year, for the first time in the annals of Eton boating; though the offer of a place has been made to one of their body before. At one time, the collegers were confined exclusively to the water "below bridge" for their boating excursions; but this part of the river is now forbidden ground to the whole school, and only a masters' boat may be seen there.

Since the glories of Montem have departed, the Fourth of June procession has taken its place as the great yearly festival of Etonians. It was instituted in commemoration of a visit of King George III., and is held on his birthday. A quondam "captain of the *Thetis*" shall give his own account of it. "It is the great trysting day of Eton, when her sons gather from far and wide, young and old, great and small,—no matter who or what, so long as they are old Etonians; that magic bond

binds them all together as brothers, and levels for the time all distinctions of age or rank. The proceedings begin with the 'Speeches,' delivered in the Upper School at twelve o'clock before the provost, fellows, masters, and a large audience of the boys' friends. Selections from classical authors, ancient or modern, are recited by the Sixth-form boys, who are dressed for the occasion in black swallow-tail coats, white ties, black knee-breeches and buckles, silk stockings, and pumps. Then follows the provost's luncheon, given in the college hall to the more distinguished visitors, while similar entertainments on a smaller scale are going on in the various tutors' and dames' houses. At 3 o'clock there is full choral service in chapel. At 6 p.m. all hands adjourn to the Brocas, a large open meadow, to witness the great event of the day—the procession of the Boats to Surly Hall, a public-house of that name, on the right bank of the river, some three and a half miles from Windsor. The boats are divided into two classes—Upper and Lower. The Upper division consists of the Monarch ten-oar, the Victory, and the Prince of Wales, or, as it is more usually called, the Third Upper. The Lower boats are the Britannia, Dreadnought, Thetis, and St George; sometimes, when the number of aspir-

ants to a place is larger than usual, an eighth boat, called the *Defiance*, is added.* The collegers have also for some years put on a four-oar—latterly expanded into an eight—which follows in the procession. The flotilla is preceded by the Eton racing eight-oar, manned by the picked crew who are to contend at Putney or Henley. Each boat has its distinctive uniform. Formerly these were very fanciful—Greek pirates, or galley-slaves in silver chains, astonishing the quiet reaches of the Thames for the day. The crews of the Upper boats now wear dark-blue jackets and trousers, and straw hats with ribbons, displaying the name of the boat in gold letters; the coxswains are dressed in an admiral's uniform, with gold fittings, sword, and cocked-hat. The captain of each boat has an anchor and crown embroidered in gold on the left sleeve of his jacket. In the Lower boats, the crews wear trousers of white jean, and all ornaments and embroidery are in silver. Each boat carries a large silk flag in the stern. The procession is headed by a quaint old-fashioned boat (an Eton racing-boat of primitive days) rowed by watermen, and conveying

* The names of the boats have varied at different periods. In 1762 they appear to have been "*Piper Green*," "*Snake*," "*My Guineas*" (!), and "*Lion*."

a military band. The Westminster eight always receives an invitation to this celebration, and occasionally makes its appearance on the river, adding very much to the interest of the procession. The scene at Boveney Locks is very striking; the boats, with their gay flags and costumes, crowded together in the narrow pass, make the locks appear carpeted with bright colours. Opposite to Surly Hall, a liberal display of good things, spread on tables on shore, awaits the arrival of the crews—the Sixth-form alone being accommodated with a tent. After a few toasts, and as much champagne as can be fairly disposed of in a short time, the captain of the boats gives the word for all to re-embark, and the flotilla returns to Eton in the same order. This order, however, is by no means such as would delight the eye of a critical first-lieutenant in H.M. navy: singing, shouting, racing, and bumping, all go on together in the most harmonious confusion." This racing home (combined with the libations at Surly) caused a good deal of excitement in former days; and once—some sixty years ago—the Dreadnought and Defiance having a dispute about a "bump," the two crews, steerers included, agreed to fight it out in the playing-fields afterwards, and were actually ranging themselves in order of battle,

when Goodall, then head-master, interposed, and stopped this last resort.

"The time-honoured custom of 'sitting a boat' must here claim mention. Some old Etonian, of generous and festive disposition (generally an old 'oar'), signifies to the captain of a boat his intention of presenting the crew with a certain quantity of champagne. In return he is entitled to be rowed up to Surly in the boat to which he presents the wine; he occupies the coxswain's seat, who kneels or stands behind him. This giver of good things is called, from this circumstance, a 'sitter;' and the question, 'Who sits your boat?' or, 'Have you a sitter?' is one of some interest, which may often be heard addressed to a captain." The seat of honour in the ten-oar is usually offered to some distinguished old Etonian. Mr Canning occupied it in 1824.*

* No one entered more cordially into the spirit of these Eton reunions. At the Montem of the previous year he had met Brougham, for the first time since their fracas in the House, and held out his hand to him, amidst the hearty applause of the crowd of bystanders. At one of the Eton dinners in London he said, in the course of his speech, that "whatever might be the success in after life, whatever gratification of ambition might be realised, whatever triumphs might be achieved, no one is ever again so great a man as when he was a Sixth-form boy at Eton." The effect of the words, said one of the audience, was "electrical."

“The boats, after their return through Windsor Bridge, turn and row two or three times round an eyot in the middle of the stream above the bridge. During this time a grand display of fireworks takes place on the eyot. The ringing of the fine old bells in the Curfew Tower, the cheering of the crews, and the brilliant-coloured fires which strike across the water and light up the dense masses of spectators along the bridge, the rafts, and the shore, produce an effect not easily forgotten. A pyrotechnic illumination of the college arms (displaying last year something meant to represent the ‘Eton eight’ rowing solemnly beneath it) concludes the ceremonies, and is the signal for the crews to land and march in jubilant disorder back to college. The crowds break and disappear, special trains dash off to their respective destinations, and the Fourth of June is over.”

An almost identical fête takes place on “Election Saturday,” the last Saturday in July, so called from its being the day of the annual election to King’s College. This, however, is now much shorn of its former glories. There used also to be certain rehearsals of the Fourth of June performances (called “check-nights”), which took place every alternate Saturday in the boating season, when the crews

rowed up to Surly in their uniform, and there regaled themselves—the staple luxury being ducks and green pease. These suppers were open to much objection, and the custom has lately been done away with. Besides these show festivals, there are annual races on the river—silver oars being the prizes for pair-oars, and a silver cup for scullers.

During the summer half-year, cricket is a formidable rival to the attractions of the river. Like rowing, it requires a good deal of time and practice, and very few boys excel in both. In fact, the school is divided into “wet-bobs” and “dry-bobs,” as they are called; the former devoting themselves to the boats, and the latter to the playing-fields. Of course, a “dry-bob” boats occasionally, and a “wet-bob” plays cricket, for his amusement; but each lays himself out for excellence in his special line.

CHAPTER XII.

CRICKET began at Eton at least as early as at any public school, but its distant records are scanty. William Goldwin (who went off to King's in 1700, and was afterwards Fellow of Eton and Master of Bristol Grammar-school) published, amongst his 'Musæ Juveniles,' in 1706, a poem called *Certamen Pilæ*, which proves that even at that date a cricket-match had some interest for Eton boys. The game was played there in Horace Walpole's time; and the nephew and namesake of his friend and correspondent, Sir Horace Mann, was, either there or in after life, a celebrated player. The earliest Etonian celebrity of whom any distinct record is preserved is the eighth Earl of Winchelsea, who was the great patron and supporter of the oldest known club in England, the Hambledon—a band of ancient heroes held in honour by all cricketers, though they might fail to command the admiration which

they formerly excited, if they were to appear once more upon the ground in their uniform of "sky-blue coats and velvet collars." Lord Winchelsea introduced what he considered an improvement in the game, by increasing the stumps to four, but it never became popular; though in the match between the gentlemen and the players in 1837, in order to equalise the contest, the latter undertook to defend four stumps instead of three. His Lordship made an innings of fifty-four in a match of "Old Etonians against the Gentlemen of England," played in 1791, on the old "Lord's" ground, on the site of the present Dorset Square. The first recorded match played by an eleven of the school itself is that against the Oldfield Club, whom they beat easily, in 1797. Sumner, the future archbishop, was one of the bowlers. The first public school match of which Mr Lillywhite's researches have recovered any account is Eton against Westminster, at old Lord's, in 1799. It must have been either a very short or a very careful day's play; for Eton, in their only innings, made but 47 runs, and Westminster had scored 13, with five wickets to fall, when the stumps were drawn. The match was said to be "postponed," but there is no account to be found of its ever having been resumed. The

schools played again the following year, when Eton had an easy victory, making a score of 213 in one innings, against Westminster's 54 and 31. The King's scholars in those days formed the strongest part of the eleven. Benjamin Drury (afterwards assistant-master), Joseph Thackeray, and Thomas Lloyd, elder brother of the bishop, were the bowlers, and all the largest innings were made by collegers. The match had a melancholy sequel: Lloyd, after beating the Westminster innings off his own bat, died after the holidays from the effects of a sudden chill caught after his exertions. No matches seem afterwards to have been made with Westminster; but in 1805 they played their first match with Harrow, at Lord's, beating them in a single innings. Eight out of the eleven (among whom was Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) were again collegers. The two schools are said to have played several times between this date and 1818; but this assertion is, to say the least, very questionable, and no scores are to be found until that year, when Harrow beat Eton, and again in 1822. A contemporary letter from a young Etonian, anticipating victory on the latter occasion, explains the former defeat (losers are never slow at an excuse) by the statement that only two of their best men were

present at Lord's,* the rest of the eleven being made up of such Etonians as could be collected on the ground. In the following year Eton retrieved its honour, and again beat Harrow in one innings; and from that time forth victory has been pretty fairly balanced. Emilius Bayley's great innings of 152, in 1841, had never yet been exceeded by any player in a public school match, until A. Lubbock, in 1863, made the still grander score of 174 (not out) against Winchester. An Eton eleven appears first to have played this latter school in 1826, and were beaten. From 1830 the two schools have had a match nearly every year, with tolerably even success, including a tie in 1845, when the interest and excitement were very great indeed. In 1856, neither school being allowed to come up to London, the match was played at Winchester, and since that date the elevens have met on the Eton and Winchester ground alternately. The years most to be remembered in the Eton cricket annals are 1832 and 1846, when they beat both Winchester and Harrow in a single innings.

Three of the fastest gentlemen-bowlers in England—and all good ones—have been at different times in the Eton eleven. George Osbaldeston,

* These were Donald Maclean and W. Pitt.

long before he was known to the sporting world as Master of the Quorn and Pytchley, and the boldest rider in England, had been known both in the Eton playing-fields and at Lord's for the lightning-speed of his delivery. John Henry Kirwan took every wicket in the second innings of the M. C. C. in the match of 1835. Walter Marcon—'41 and '42—is reputed to have been even faster. Those who have stood up against the bowling of both say that his pace was as terrific as that of George Brown of Sussex—who, according to Mr Lillywhite's annals, whose veracity is not to be rashly questioned, once bowled *through* a man's coat, on the Brighton ground, and killed a dog on the other side. The long-stop of Brown's eleven always prepared for him by having a bag stuffed with hay fastened inside his shirt to protect his chest, with which he stopped the balls; but no Eton long-stop is known to have condescended to this defensive armour. Perhaps the eleven of '34 brought out, in C. G. Taylor and W. Pickering, two of the finest gentlemen-batsmen in England; and the latter was probably the youngest player in any public school match, being then only fourteen.

The custom, which has now become general at the public school matches, of "chairing" any very

successful player—carrying him round the ground in triumph upon the shoulders of his companions—took its origin from the old Eton ceremony of “hoisting;” a compliment paid to the great champions of each side at football and cricket, or the winners in the boat-races, who are paraded in this distinguished fashion “after six” through college and along the school wall, with great shouting and rejoicing.

Besides cricket and foot-ball, the only game now recognised is fives. One peculiarity of this game as played at Eton is worth noticing, because its origin is somewhat curious. Any one who has seen the fives-courts there may have observed a small buttress projecting into the court on the left-hand side—sometimes called the “pepper-box”—which gives rise to some peculiar points and difficulties in the game; and, to a non-Etonian observer, seems decidedly in the way of the players. The fact is, that the original fives-court was against the chapel wall, close to the steps leading up to the entrance, where a small buttress of the identical pattern may still be seen: and the original rules of the game and mode of play having necessarily reference to this excrescence as a component part of the old court, it has been copied with Chinese accuracy in

building the new ones, and still distinguishes the "Eton courts" even at Oxford. The more juvenile amusements have long been voted beneath the dignity of a modern public-school boy—a fastidiousness of taste which perhaps does not increase the happiness of the little boys. A list of the games popular at Eton in 1762 comprises some which have long gone out of use in any but the smaller schools; "Bally colly" (?), Pegtop, Hop-scotch, Puss in the corner, "Hunt the dark lantern" (known also in the early days of Harrow), Pinch (?), &c. They played marbles at Eton as late as 1821, and tops survived many years longer; being regularly introduced for some ten days, on the return of the school after the summer holidays, up to about 1835. A good deal of sport has been afforded, both in modern and ancient days, by a "scratch" pack of beagles, set to hunt a drag, and followed by the sportsmen on foot—occasionally, in traditionary times, on horseback, by the more aspiring members of the hunt, upon such wretched animals as could be hired in Windsor. They went over many miles of country, and great leaps were taken (not by the horses) over the flooded ditches which surround Eton. William Codrington's famous leap over

Chalvey brook is remembered to this day, and may preserve his boyish fame even when he is forgotten as Master of the Old Berkshire. The sport was stopped from time to time by the authorities ; and many will remember one remarkable run (not recorded by 'Bell's Life'), when the well-known Harry Dupuis took the field on horseback, and the younger sportsmen were obliged in their turn to become the pursued, and were many of them captured. At one time the members of the hunt, in emulation of older sportsmen, determined on adopting a distinctive button, and had a die struck with the letters E. C. H.—Eton College Hunt. Dr Hawtrey soon noticed these new insignia in school, but could not quite make out the legend. Meeting a boy one day in the school-yard, he literally took him by the button, and asked what the letters were ; but when his pupil, with some slight natural embarrassment, read out the mystic characters—the Doctor's own initials—further question or comment seemed unnecessary, and it was the master's turn to look embarrassed at what he took for a delicate compliment from his pupils. The sport is now carried on without any interruption on the part of the authorities, and the runs are duly recorded in the 'Eton Chronicle.' Instead of having

recourse to a drag, they can now usually find a hare on some of the neighbouring farms ; an excellent feeling having sprung up between the boys and the farmers (who take an interest in the sport, and occasionally have the loan of the beagles for their own amusement), instead of the traditionary feuds which existed in some earlier generations.

Ash-Wednesday used to be a day of even greater mortification at Eton than elsewhere. Besides the regular work of a whole-school-day, there was the special service in chapel, and formerly also a lecture from one of the fellows, so that the boys had scarcely half an hour to themselves. The cause assigned for this was not any special ecclesiastical strictness, but to prevent the school from attending the Eton pig-fair, held on that day. The pigs used to be penned in the public road fronting the dames' and tutors' houses ; an arrangement which subjected the unhappy animals to many indignities, a protruding tail being occasionally cut off and carried away as a trophy. This, as might be expected, led to desperate battles with the pig-drovers. The Windsor fairs are even to this day the scene of occasional " rows " with the showmen and populace, though the hostilities are not so systematic as formerly, when a whole troop of strolling players—

clowns, heroes in armour, and even "ladies" in tights and spangles—might be seen to descend from their outside stage, stung beyond endurance by crackers and pea-shooters, and engage in a hand-to-hand fight with their assailants below. At one of those fairs it was that George Boudier fought the "royal" chimney-sweep, Hastings, a noted bruiser, on Bachelor's Acre, and thrashed him heartily after a long battle, with hardly a mark himself, except from the soot which his antagonist's fists left behind them. Windsor Fair, it should be said, is strictly "out of bounds;" for which reason, we are told by one of the masters in his evidence, "every boy in the school makes it a point of honour to go;" no real attempt is made to stop the practice, but (probably as a point of honour on the side of the masters) "one or two lower boys who are unlucky enough to get caught are severely punished."*

* See Public Schools Report, App., p. 140.

CHAPTER XIII.

MENTION has been already made of the Long Chamber Theatricals. Though the days have long passed when head-masters like Udall and Ritwise were the authors and managers, and cardinals sat amongst the audience, the drama, legitimate or illegitimate, was revived there from time to time. Addison's 'Cato' was got up for representation in Dr Barnard's mastership, but the performance was unfortunately interrupted. George Hardinge (the Welsh judge) tells the story in a letter to Nichols. He was to perform Cato; and in those days Cato was nothing without a full-bottomed wig—at least so Hardinge thought, remembering, as he says, Pope's line—

"Cato's long wig, flowered gown, and lackered chair."*

* This wig was considered an essential property to the character of the noble Roman. When Richard Cumberland acted in the tragedy at Bury School, he says—"A full-bottomed periwig for Cato, and female attire for Portia and Marcia, borrowed from the maids of the lodging-house, were the chief articles of our scanty wardrobe."

An old wig was at last found in the shop of a Windsor barber, which was pronounced quite the correct thing, and which, for a small consideration, the barber undertook to turn out as good as new. Some ladies were invited, and the performance began; but in the midst of the Roman's soliloquy, an unexpected actor rushed upon the stage—Dr Barnard himself, boiling with wrath at the unlicensed performance. He tore off the wig and toga from the dismayed Cato, and dispersed actors and audience. The wig he hung up in his study as a trophy; and there, after some time, it was recognised by Dr Burton, the vice-provost, as his own cast-off property. So well had the barber restored it, that Burton, who was a man of small economies, claimed it, and took it into wear again, declaring that it was really as good as new. "The anecdote" (says Hardinge) "lasted Barnard for a month." He ought, indeed, to have had more sympathy with these dramatic aspirations; for he was himself an admirable mimic, and—according to the same authority—"if nature had given him Garrick's features and figure, he would have been scarcely inferior to him in theatrical powers."

Richard Porson wrote a sort of musical masque, a combination of songs and dialogue, which was

also acted in Long Chamber. The subject was the "wall of brass," suggested by Friar Bacon as a national fortification ; but the idea is transferred to Dr Faustus. The author entitled it 'Out of the Frying-pan into the Fire.' The cast was as follows :—Dr Faustus, Stephenson ; Satan, Chafie ; Lucifer, Goodall (afterwards provost) ; Punch, Porson ; Vulcan, W. Moore ; Joan, "Mrs Smith, the real wife of Hob Smith." The piece, of no remarkable merit, is still preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

But the palmy days of Eton amateurs were after the suppression of the Long Chamber performances. There had been more than one theatre set up, at different periods, by the oppidans ; one at least during Goodall's head-mastership, in which Frederick Hamilton Cornwall and Henry Whittington were leading actors ; and several during Keate's subsequent reign. With the best of these later companies (who had lost some of their number by the expulsions which followed the Rebellion of 1818), the college actors, when Long Chamber was tabooed, coalesced, and formed a very strong corps. There are few Etonians of that day who will not be glad to see preserved in these pages the vivid language in which one

of them recalls the triumphs "*quorum pars magna fuit*":—

"Our theatre was first started by Germain Lavie and Howard—the late Lord Carlisle,—and a boat-loft belonging to Hester was the scene of action. Afterwards a far better establishment was formed in Datchet Lane, Windsor, where a large warehouse was hired of Mason the coal-merchant, and in the management of which Moultrie conducted the affairs on behalf of the collegers, and Crawford represented the oppidan interests.

"I look back with wondrous pleasure to the exhibitions of those days: we certainly had some prodigiously fine actors, but there is one who is indelibly impressed upon my memory—St Vincent Bowen: his Sir Peter Teazle, Oakley, Bob Acres, Old Rapid, Lord Duberley, Sir Robert Bramble, and Old Philpotts, were marvellous performances. I have seen much professional acting, and have paid much attention to it; but after a lapse of forty-five years I can recall every look and gesture of this great actor, before whom we all quailed, and I can safely say that I never saw his equal. Moultrie, Hare, Maclean, Bullock, Crawford, Wilder, Buxton, were the other chief performers. Never were collegers and oppidan feuds

more completely quashed, never were nearer and dearer boyish friendships formed, never was there less of mischief and profligacy in the school. The masters knew this well, and winked at the contra-band proceeding; but unluckily our success tended to vanity, and vanity to ruin. 'The Iron Chest' was got up at considerable expense, and very strongly cast, as follows:—

THE IRON CHEST.

SIR EDWARD MORTIMER,	<i>Crawford.</i>
FITZHARDING,	<i>Wellesley.*</i>
WILFORD,	<i>Wilder.†</i>
ADAM WINTERTON,	<i>Buxton.</i>
RAWBOLD,	<i>Wilnot.</i>
SAMSON,	<i>Moultrie.</i>
ARMSTRONG,	<i>Battiscombe.</i>
ORSON,	<i>Maturin.</i>
HELEN,	<i>Parker.‡</i>
BLANCHE,	<i>Cox.</i>
BARBARA,	<i>Pocklington.</i>
JUDITH,	<i>Beales.§</i>

"Penley's theatrical band was hired for the dramatic music, and the choristers from St George's Chapel sang the concerted pieces. Tickets were given to the ladies of Windsor and Eton, to the officers of the garrison, and to many inhabitants, and some of these wiseacres made it a subject of

* Now Lord Cowley. † Now Fellow of Eton.

‡ Now Major-General.

§ Now Revising Barrister for Middlesex.

conversation on the same day at the provost's table. The issue was obvious: the unlucky manager was sent for into chambers, and was quietly informed that any more of this courting the *popularis aura* would be immediately followed by expulsion. We once more played 'Speed the Plough,' and then the curtain dropped for ever upon Datchet Lane. I rambled into the warehouse not many years ago, and there still remained upon the walls the old dungeon-scene painted for 'Rob Roy.' I question whether I should have gazed on the real Tolbooth with half the interest.

"In my unlimited admiration for that great actor, Bowen, I must not lose sight of some of his successors. Moultrie in domestic pathos was unrivalled; it was a strange sight to see tears on the cheeks of some dare-devil upper-division boy—some stalwart stroke of the ten-oar, or captain of the eleven—as they contemplated his Job Thornberry; while in broad farce—

'Ratcatcher, Quaker, corporal, or Jew'*—

his quaint humour was equally popular. Wilder, elegant and graceful in declamation, if somewhat artificial; Donald Maclean, the fop or sparkling

* 'The Eton Rosciad.' By Lord Carlisle, in the MS. magazine called 'Horæ Otiosæ.'

man of fashion ; Hare (Lord Listowel), admirable as an Irishman, or in the eccentricities of Sir Abel Handy ; Bullock (the late Common Sergeant), as the testy old man, especially good in Sir Anthony Absolute ; Thorpe, who in Ella Rosenberg and Mary Thornberry exhibited the very pathos of Fanny Kelly ; Howard (Lord Carlisle), although, *me judice*, a failure in tragedy, and ungainly in person for the heroes of comedy, played Mrs Oakley and Mrs Candour with extraordinary power and success.

“ We were too good judges to meddle with Shakespeare. The brilliant repartee of Sheridan and the sly equivoque of Colman, by their own innate merit, aided our boyish interpretation : and we cautiously avoided the usual pitfall of amateurs, who, seeing a piece written especially to suit the qualifications of certain actors, seize on it eagerly—of course merely reproducing a servile, and generally an infamously bad imitation.

“ There was at least one quality in which our company excelled all other amateurs whom I ever saw, and very many professionals ; we were always, in theatrical phrase, “ better perfect.” The managers enforced rehearsals as strictly as the coach to a racing-boat ; and perhaps the weekly repetition

of seventy lines of Homer at 8, seventy of Virgil at 2, and seventy of Horace at 6, on Fridays, had left its mark on our memories as well as elsewhere.

“The contraband nature of our amusement—like the peat-reek of the mountain-still, or the snared pheasant of the poacher—doubled its zest. I have seen legitimised school theatricals, when, under the drill of a dramatic usher, the best boy has played Cato, the favourite boy Juba, the prettiest boy Marcia, and the naughtiest boy Syphax. I have seen Colman excised and Bowdlerised ; but it was melancholy work : and between the acts one could not but remember Quin’s reflection, ‘ If eating turtle were but a crime, the enjoyment would be perfect.’

“I cannot but acknowledge that Sheridan and Colman somewhat usurped the rights of Homer and Horace ; still, when we look to the career of many concerned, we cannot say that much harm was done. Amongst our *dramatis personæ* we can number (besides minor honours) one double-first and four first-classes, a Latin Verse, and a Newdigate, at Oxford ; and at Cambridge two wranglers, a first-class classic, a Bell’s scholar, two Chancellor’s English medals, and one Browne’s. No charge of

effeminacy attaches to those who made the female characters their specialty. The 'Helen' whom we saw bending over the lifeless form of Mortimer was second to none over Northamptonshire. Her *soubrette* 'Blanche' went, and probably still goes, among the best with Her Majesty's. Others have exchanged the ringlets for the counsellor's wig, and the bands for those of the Church; would that the employments of every 'after four' could bear as honest a scrutiny as those afforded by the '*scenæ sine aulæis et ostro*' of Datchet Lane!"

Of the oppidan manager, Crawfurd, his brother actor Lord Carlisle thus speaks in the concluding lines of the 'Eton Rosciad' [The company are supposed to have met to choose a chairman upon Bowen's retirement]:—

"Last Crawfurd came; but vain the weak pretence
Justly to tell his varied excellence.
To no range bounded, by no part repelled,
He all attempted, and in all excelled;
The young, the old, the country and the town,
Th' accomplished gallant or the honest clown;
Correct with spirit, formed alike to please
With comic humour and with native ease.

The crowd had passed; the judges were agreed,
And thus at once impartially decreed:
'Long may ye all in fame and union live!
Applause to each, as each deserves, we give;
To thee the preference;—Crawfurd, take the chair,
Nor leave it till you place an equal there.'"

Keate was not inclined to deal hardly with these unlicensed theatres, though no doubt they drew off much of the talent of the school from severer studies. It was remarked that the Speeches were never so good at Eton as during the rage for the drama. The Latin and Greek declamations (which generally have the lion's share of the programme) are never very popular with schoolboys; and it had been always the custom as soon as the first word was spoken on Election Monday (on which day the holidays began), for the boys to rush down to the respective conveyances which were in waiting to take them home. In 1810, it was known that the two last speakers, Wilder and Crawford, were to give a taste of their quality, one in tragedy and the other in comedy, and were set down for 'Caractacus,' and Swift's 'Monody on his own Death.' Nearly the whole school patiently and voluntarily sat out a couple of hours devoted to Sallust, Tacitus, Sophocles, and Demosthenes, for the sake of witnessing this last appearance of their two favourite actors.

Some few years afterwards the dramatic spirit revived again, and a very promising company was formed, who hired what is now Turnock's large room for their scene of operations. After some

successful performances, Sheridan's 'Rivals'—that stock piece of amateurs—was cast for representation. The Sir Anthony Absolute has gone out as Chief Justice to Ceylon; the Marquess of Downshire was Sir Lucius O'Trigger; and the present worthy Provost of Eton was expected to be great in Mrs Malaprop. But unluckily, having taken to learn their parts in school, Keate detected the whole affair, even to the cast of the characters; and startled the members of the corps by calling them up one by one at lesson, under their assumed names, beginning with the ladies; and the performance was thus unfortunately stopped.

There have been modern amateurs, more or less successful, at many periods since this, both in college and among the oppidans; aspiring even occasionally to the performance of a French piece. And the Eton authorities, like those of some other public schools, have now given them at least a tacit sanction.

CHAPTER XIV.

ETON was the first public school to set up a "magazine" of its own. The original attempt was a complete success. The 'Microcosm' was published by Charles Knight the elder, then a bookseller at Windsor, in 1786 and 1787. The working editor was George Canning, and several of the articles were written by him. The other principal contributors were Sydney Smith's brother Robert (better known as "Bobus"), John Frere, Lord Henry Spencer, and Joseph Melliish. This school-boy publication made some noise even outside the Eton world. Its fame reached the Court, and Miss Burney had to read it to the Queen. Fox heard through his nephew, young Lord Holland, of the brilliant abilities of his schoolfellow Canning, and came down to Eton purposely to enlist him as a party recruit. He "made dinners" for the two boys (no doubt at the Christopher) "to teach them

political lessons." As Miss Burney observes, Canning's opening speech in politics, made in support of Pitt, "must have had an odd effect" upon his instructor. Knight gave fifty guineas for the copyright of the magazine—a sum surely never realised by any school periodical since—and Canning and he kept up a friendly intercourse, honourable to both, long after the Eton schoolboy had risen to be a statesman. But the 'Microcosm' lasted scarcely two years, and was closed at the departure of its leading contributors from the school. It was not until sixteen years after that the 'Miniature' succeeded; edited, by a somewhat remarkable coincidence, by Stratford Canning, cousin of the great minister, who was then a King's scholar, and afterwards became Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. It was clever, but, like its predecessor, shortlived. Murray, the publisher, bought up the old stock, and some years afterwards brought out a new edition. It did not sell, but "got him the reputation," says Mr Knight, "of a clever publisher," and led to his introduction to George Canning; and from this political connection arose in time the 'Quarterly Review.' Both of these early Eton magazines were somewhat ambitious in their subjects, and more didactic in their style than their modern

successors. Of these there have been several from time to time, of some of which it is to be feared the very names have perished, and others which have not much better claim to preservation. Among these ephemerals were the 'Salt-bearer' and the 'College Magazine.' The latter was in manuscript, and was published in occasional numbers in 1818 and 1819. It had great success for a time; but after a while, whether from neglect or from the want of the infusion of fresh blood, it declined both in ability and prosperity. Some of its contributors seceded: chief among them, "Peter Poeticus" (destined soon to win higher favour with the public under the signature of "Gerard Montgomery"), who, with small reliance on any pen but his own, started a rival miscellany with the title of 'Horæ Otiosæ.*' In those pages (which, like the magazine, were not printed) appeared "My Brother's Grave," the "Lines to —," and "The Hall of my Fathers"—wonderful productions for a boy: the two first perhaps not surpassed

* "I rejoice," writes an Eton contemporary, "that you do justice to 'Gerard Montgomery.' Graver years, and, alas! sadder times, have since then quenched that brilliant humour and that trenchant gibe; but still survives the old sweet music, 'possessing the pathos of Wordsworth without his puerility,' (*non meus hic sermo, sed quæ præcepit Hawtrey*).

by any poem of the writer's maturer years. Each number opened with a smart address in "Whistlecraft" metre, "*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*," in which the knout—a pretty smart one—was freely administered to all who excited Peter's spleen or rivalry. Here is one admirable stanza out of many, both in idea and versification quite beyond a schoolboy's commonplace:—

"I own to me it seems extremely funny
How clever people who delight in learning
Can waste their time, their patience, and their money,
The leaves of those dull commentators turning.

His correction, as editor, of a translation by a schoolfellow, in 'Horæ Otiosæ,' of Dr Johnson's verses to Sylvanus Urban—'Urbane nullis fesse laboribus'—lies before me:—

'Texente nymphis sarta Lycoride
Rosæ ruborem sic viola adjuvat
Immista—sic Iris refulget
Ætheriis variata fucis.'

'Thus, when some nymph a garland twines,
Brighter the rose contrasted shines
With violets' purple dye;
The crocus and the lily there,
And all the treasures of the year
In gay confusion lie.'

"He substitutes for these last—

'Tis thus, in heaven's ethereal bow,
Each colour takes a livelier glow
Contrasted with the sky.'

"How cleverly he lifts the tired horse, and lands him safe on the other side!"

Oh ! when I read the pages bright and sunny
Of the old Greeks, it sets my heart a-burning !
I much prefer Euripides to Monk,
Homer to Bentley, Sophocles to Brunk."

But in 1821 appeared 'The Etonian'—lighter and more popular in style than its predecessor the 'Microcosm,' but conducted with at least equal ability, and enjoying a wider general reputation. Poetry, sentimental and comic, romantic fiction, and the realities of schoolboy life, all found a place in its pages, and all were more or less cleverly handled. There was a pretty numerous body of contributors, but the controlling staff were a set of some seven or eight, who, under fictitious names, formed an imaginary society called "The King of Clubs." Some of the reported meetings of this club are amongst the most amusing articles. The real names of these young writers are now sufficiently well known, and several have won for themselves high literary distinction since. Too many—and those of the highest promise—have passed away before their full development. Foremost of these is Winthrop Mackworth Praed—a name even now less generally honoured than it deserves to be, though his remains have at last found an English publisher. Many of his poems have a

grace and beauty which has never been surpassed by any English writer ; and his personal character, both in boyhood and in manhood, made him as warmly loved by those who knew him as he was admired for the brilliancy of his powers.

“ With poignant sarcasm and sly equivoque,
And many a coruscation, bright though brief,
Of wit, and humour more akin than wit
To genius—drawing off intrusive eyes
From that intensity of human love,
And that most deep and tender sympathy
Close guarded in the chambers of his heart.” *

If it is sad to think that Praed died at 37 ; it is sadder still that his schoolfellow poet should have had to say of him, with so much truth, that

“ His generation knew him not,”

and that America should have been beforehand with us in recognising his remarkable powers by a collected edition of his poems.

But Praed's sun at least went down in its brightness. It was not so with one of his fellow-Etonian writers, of perhaps even greater ability though of less attractive personal qualities. William Sydney Walker, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, one of the most remarkable amongst Eton's many remarkable scholars, has left even less of a popular

* ‘ The Dream of Life,’ by John Moultrie.

name and far more melancholy recollections behind him. Possibly the very precocity of his genius in boyhood was either the symptom or the cause of that morbid mental excitement which made his life a useless one, and threw its shadow over all his later years. Before he was sent to Eton, he "had read history extensively" at five years old. At Eton, the feats of genius recorded of him would seem quite as apocryphal, if they were not formally vouched for by living witnesses. He could repeat the whole of Homer, Horace, and Virgil by heart, says an Eton witness before the Royal Commissioners; and not only that, but "he could be called up in school, having an English Shakspeare in his hand [instead of the proper book], and take up a lesson anywhere that it might be going on: he could construe a passage expression by expression, parse it word by word, answer any question that was asked him, and afterwards sit down to his Shakspeare." *

* Rev. E. Coleridge's Evidence, Eton, 3720. Similar stories are told of Porson. The Eton repetition system has from time to time brought out many remarkable memories. William Hey, M.P. for Sandwich in 1744, when an undergraduate at Cambridge, had an imposition of a hundred lines of Homer to say by heart. He asked the tutor where he was to begin. The tutor took down his Homer, and fixed upon a passage, which he named and marked. But no sooner did Hey get the

Some one once told Sir J. Mackintosh that Walker "could turn anything into Greek verse." Sir James proposed a page of the 'Court Guide;' and it was done. To such a boy, of course, the usual "*pœna*" of lines from a Greek or Latin poet to learn by heart could be no kind of punishment at all; so that when his peculiar powers had once been discovered, Greek verses were set him instead. He had many of the unpleasant habits of genius. Slovenly, absent, ill-tempered, awkward, and odd, he was not happy at Eton. He was the subject of considerable bullying, in those days of rougher school life, and would sometimes even rush into the masters' rooms to escape from his tormentors. It has been said that these boyish sufferings injured his health and broke his spirit, and that much of the mental unhappiness of his after-life was the consequence. But it is more reasonable and less painful to believe, with his friend and biographer, Mr Moultrie, that the true source lay in the infirmities, and not in the persecutions of genius. A harassing disease had probably its share in the gloomy religious doubts which embittered

catchword of the first line, than he rattled off the whole hundred considerably faster than his tutor could follow him; and the punishment of course was over.

his maturer life, and the indolence which left little worthy result from such extraordinary natural powers. He resigned his fellowship, and would have died in utter poverty but for the noble generosity of an old schoolfellow, which makes even his sad story bright in the memory of all Etonians. Winthrop Praed set him free from debt, and made a provision for his future years, by a little pious fraud which might spare his delicacy. Another friend, a member of his own college though at a later date (George Crawshay of Gateshead), offered him a home for life, which, however, he did not survive long enough to accept.*

Henry Nelson Coleridge was another of the "Club," and Eton has also to regret his loss too early in a useful life. But several survive; and John Moultrie at least has carried out the promise of his 'Etonian' authorship. Several of his poems which appeared there, have, like Praed's youthful verses, fully maintained their ground when republished side by side with those of the author's maturer years. Perhaps the most beautiful of all—

* His 'Critical Examination of the Text of Shakspeare,' which he left behind him in MS., was published by two of his old friends in 1860. His conjectural criticisms and emendations are interesting, as perhaps the only instance of the subject having been taken up by a thorough scholar.

"Godiva"—has not been included by the author in his collected poems, from what most of those who remember it will consider an over-scrupulous taste. When George Hardinge, jubilant at the literary triumphs of his old school, read out "Godiva" to Gifford, then editor of the 'Quarterly Review,' he remarked—"If that young Moultrie writes prose as well as he writes poetry, I should be glad to hear from him;" a remarkable compliment from such a quarter.

There have been a host of modern successors, at different dates, to the 'Etonian,' but none have made any approach to it in ability, and none have had more than a very brief existence. The 'Eton Miscellany' is no exception, though amongst its most frequent contributors were William Ewart Gladstone, Arthur Henry Hallam, and Francis Hastings Doyle. The 'Oppidan,' the 'Bureau,' the 'Porticus Etonensis,' the 'Observer,' and the 'Phoenix,' are probably all but forgotten even by their contributors, and certainly have no claim to resuscitation. The best of these later ephemerals is perhaps the 'Eton School Magazine' of 1847-8, in which some flashes of the old fires reappear. There is a very happy imitation of Horace's Satire '*Ibam forte via sacra*' (I. 9), adapted to Eton

life: and nothing can be closer or more elegant than the following translation of an inscription on a stone fountain at Paris:—

*“Quæ dat aquas saxo latet hospita nympha sub imo;
Sic tu, cum dederis dona, latere velis.”*

*“The nymph who gives these waters lies
Beneath the inmost rock concealed;
So thou, when thou has given gifts,
Be willing to be unrevealed.”*

The chief literary effort of the present day is the ‘Eton College Chronicle,’ started in 1863, which assumes to be little more than a school newspaper, eschewing essays, fiction, and poetry, and merely recording such matters of fact as boat-races, football and cricket matches, &c., &c., with criticisms thereupon. The editors, in their introductory address, express their confidence that it will prove “an especial boon to parents,” as it “will in a great measure supply the place of letters, which often, from press of circumstances and time, boys omit to write.” Of this latter fact there is no question; and whatever parents may think of the “boon,” there can be little doubt that many a fourth-form boy, who is under a chronic pressure of “circumstances” as regards his correspondence, will find it very convenient to buy a ready-made letter (for the small sum of threepence) requiring

nothing but a stamp and an address to be ready for the post. The 'Chronicle' is at any rate very well managed, and very useful in its way.* A small periodical called the 'Eton Scrap-Book' has also just made its appearance.

It is not difficult to assign a cause for the falling off in literary merit of the modern Eton periodicals as compared with the 'Microcosm' or 'Etonian': a failure not peculiar to Eton, for modern Harrow and Rugby magazines have been equally poor. The taste for good English literature has sensibly declined at public schools; cheap and worthless novels form the staple of a modern schoolboy's reading, when he reads for his own amusement. One of the late Eton masters admits and laments this degeneracy of taste in his published evidence.

"Formerly, any average boy of ordinary taste at Eton, on leaving school, had read much of the English poets, and a great deal of English

* Here is an item of intelligence taken *verbatim* from its columns. Our readers may be assured that it is no joke—in any sense of the phrase:—

"The Rev. F. E. Durnford, Senior Assistant-Master, has been appointed Lower Master in the place of the Rev. W. A. Carter. Mr Durnford commenced work in the Lower School on Tuesday, when a birch tied up with blue ribbons was presented to him by the captain of the school, according to ancient custom."—*Eton College Chronicle*, June 9, 1864.

history, as well as other literature. I know very well that the boys used greedily to devour every poem of Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, Southey, and other modern poets, as fast as they came out. The boys used to spend a great deal of their pocket-money in buying English books. . . . Dante, Tasso, and other Italian authors, were read by many. As to English books, we had them in abundance. The old English dramatists, a great deal of Dryden, a great deal of Pope, and an immense deal of other English poetry, were then read at Eton, besides most of the modern poems ; but now I doubt whether you would find many boys out of the whole eight hundred that Eton contains, who have read ten plays of Shakspeare." *

In this degeneracy of literary taste, a great public school like Eton does but reflect, as in other points, the tone and habits of the day in the grown-up world. Vices go out of fashion, and luxurious indulgences come in ; scholarlike tastes, or amiable indolence, or "muscular Christianity," have each their epoch. And when we hear the ignorance of schoolboys on the matter of modern history and geography loudly exclaimed against (as is very much the fashion just at present), it

* Eton Evidence, 3748, 3749.

may be well to bear in mind a very bold and pertinent remark of an Eton master in the course of his examination by the Commission :—

“I hold that the average amount of information on these subjects possessed by those who are called ‘educated,’ is very much less than is commonly supposed by writers in reviews and newspapers ; and that Eton boys, in this respect, are not behind the world in general.”

“The Eton Society”—for reading and debates—has had a longer and more successful existence than the magazines. It is better known by its soubriquet of “Pop,” supposed to be a contraction of *Popina*, the rooms where it was held for many years having been over a cookshop or confectioner’s. It was first instituted in 1811, when Charles Fox Townshend (who was the elder brother of the late Marquess, and died young) was the first president, and it has gone on ever since with considerable popularity and success. The preparation of the speeches leads to a certain amount of historical reading for the purpose ; but the chief attraction of “Pop” lies in its being a sort of social club, where papers and reviews are taken in ; and, as the numbers are strictly limited (originally twenty-two, since increased to twenty-eight),

to be elected into the Society gives a boy a certain degree of prestige in the school. In summer the debates are almost nominal, out-door attractions being too strong; but in winter they sometimes last for several hours, and are kept up with great spirit. The members are almost exclusively op-pidans, this being one of the points where the jealousy between them and the collegers comes out very distinctly. A few of the latter are admitted, but only when they have some special claim to popularity. Modern politics are by no means excluded from the debates, as is the rule at some school debating-societies. Eton boys have generally been enthusiastic politicians, usually of the thorough "Church and King" type. They took George IV.'s side in the matter of the Queen's trial, and fought the Windsor mob on his behalf on the night of his coronation. There was an "opposition" party in the school, small in number, who were warm partisans of the Queen, and had drawn up an address to her, which, however, they were persuaded not to send. The traditions of the school are still, in the main, stoutly opposed to anything like Radicalism, and a strong body of the boys did battle against the "Clewer roughs" on behalf of the Conservative candidate at the last Windsor election.

CHAPTER XV.

THE improvements carried out of late years in the buildings and other arrangements at Eton have been very great. The schools in which some of the divisions were taught—especially those in the old college chambers on the ground floor—were very close and inconvenient. But in the summer of 1863 a block of new buildings was completed, which contains thirteen class-rooms, besides a music-room, with the accesses and staircases so arranged as to avoid the crowding and confusion which occasionally used to take place. The old Upper and Lower Schools remain unaltered; indeed, there are historical interests associated even with their homeliest features which no Etonian would wish to see desecrated by any modern restorer. The latter room is still very much what it was in Elizabeth's days. There yet remain the double row of unsightly oaken pillars said to have

been set up by Sir Henry Wotton when provost, and to have had painted on them portraits of Greek and Latin authors; and which, by the singularity of their arrangement, gave rise to a tradition of the room having been originally the college stable. Each pair of pillars has been connected by wooden arches of more modern date, probably added when the Upper School was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. On the oaken "shuts" of the windows, and down the sides of the pillars, may still be read the names of the scholars carved as they were elected off to King's, which struck Pepys on his visit as so "pretty" a custom.* On the farthest shutter are those of the election of 1564, the chief authors of the poems which welcomed Queen Elizabeth in the previous year; and there are some names of even earlier date. The oppidans who reach the fifth form have their names cut in the same way on the wainscot of the Upper School.

* "The school good, and the custom pretty of boys cutting their names in the shuts of the windows when they go to Cambridge, by which many a one hath lived to see himself a Provost or Fellow, that hath his name in the window standing."—*Diary*, vol. iii. p. 165. These lists of names, however, do not correspond exactly with the scholars elected to King's in each year. It would appear as if they were rather the names of those who were the seniors of the year, and that here and there one either was not a candidate for college, or lost his election.

The Hall is now one of the finest interiors of its kind, having been entirely refitted with a noble open roof, screens, and galleries, chiefly by the liberality of one of the present Fellows, Mr Wilder. In the course of these improvements some fine old stone fireplaces, long concealed, were brought to light and restored, and the old unsightly stove in the middle done away with. It is to be regretted that the outside is still disfigured by some modern excrescences of building. The boys have now an excellent library of their own. Some few old books, several of them given to the School by Newborough, when head-master, had led a recluse life for many years : but the modern collection was first originated in 1820 by some of the contributors to the 'Etonian,' and kept at the college book-sellers', until removed in 1845 to the very handsome room built by the college for the purpose, and largely increased by gifts of books from Dr Hawtrey, then head-master—one of the many instances of his liberality in all that could contribute to the improvement and welfare of the school. Some old Etonian relics are collected there ; amongst them hangs on the wall a long roll of "*Bacchus*" verses by Porson.*

* See, for the custom, p. 27.

In the matter of bullying, fagging, and fighting—which in ancient times made a public school a word of awe to tender-hearted English mothers—modern Eton has become what even they would call a model school. It never had, at any time, the evil reputation which formerly attached to Westminster and Winchester on these points. So smooth and even does the course of schoolboy life run there now, that Etonian fathers are apt sometimes to doubt whether their sons do not find things made rather too pleasant for them—whether a little more of the hardening process in boyhood might not be absolutely good for those who will not find grown-up life entirely a bed of roses. They do not feel sure that it was not wholesome even for a small marquess to have to use his fists; or for a duke, upon his first entrance into public life, to get that “extra kick” which was once his traditionary welcome at Eton, and which might serve as some counterpoise to the extra compliments which society was sure to award him hereafter. They look back to that wager of combat between Dreadnought and Defiance in the playing-fields, or the great “Battle of the Bargees,” and of the “Boys and the Butchers” (dim traditions even amongst the oldest of their band, which unhappily seem to have found no *sacer*

vates), and say to themselves, perhaps with some natural exaggeration of the past, that Eton had its giants in those days. When they read in the evidence of a modern Etonian, questioned by an old Etonian Commissioner, who is surprised to find the boys never fight, the naïve explanation that he supposes it is "because they funk each other,"* they protest against it as a libel on the school. It is with a grim satisfaction that they hear still of collar-bones broken and knees put out in the fierce football *bully*, when heroes meet "at the wall." For they have not forgotten the great Etonian captain who said that "the battle of Waterloo was won in the playing-fields of Eton." But modern or ancient, colleger or oppidan, they hold fast by the old school, wonderfully unchanged in tone and feeling amidst the many social changes which it has only shared with the larger world outside, and still maintaining, not only in their own partial estimate, but by the hearty and generous testimony of non-Etonians, the charter of the "Eton gentleman."

* Public Schools Evid., Eton, 7206.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A, p. 26.

"PLAYERS' CLOATHES."

- III Cassocks of redde silke garded with blue.
 - I Cassock of black velvet garded with redde silk.
 - I Cassock of whyte silke garded with black.
- II Coats of blacke clothe duple guarded with gilted leather.
 - I Cloke of black caresye single-garded with gilted leather.
 - I Cloke of blewe garded with yelowc cotten.
- II Coats of redde baudekin duple-garded with black cotten.
- II Servants cots of black cotten welted with yelowc.
Servants cote of whyte and black cotten—Chester wourke.
Servants cote of redde and white cotten—Chester wourke.
- II Servants coots for children which hathe one quarter of redde silke and another of blew silke.

- I Womans cassocke of blewe silke garded with redde
brashed flowers.
- II Womens cassocks of whyte silke, th' one ope be-
fore, th' other close.
- II Jerkins of redd with fringe wunde aboute.
- II Pares of kirtels for women th' one of golde, th'
other of redd silke.
Hatte, clothe of gold.
- VI Payer of showes.
- VI Berdes of the longeste sorte.
- VI Berdes of the shortesteste sorte.
- III Course cawles for the servants men of wood, gilted.

The following entries also occur amongst others in
the earlier audit-books :—

- 1551. Item to Mr. Usher for an interlude that was
plaied in the haule—vi^s. viii^d.
- 1553. Item to the Schole Mr. for beards to the players
in Christemas—v^s. viii^d.
Item paid to Grave for a horse lock delyvr'd at
Chrystemas laste paste at the commandement
of my lord of mischief—viii^d.
- 1556. Thinges for playes set fourthe by Mr Scholem^r. at
Christemas * * * * Item paide for the
mynstrells for two nights, v^s. Item, to Mr
Kitemister' servant for bringinge of apparrell
from hys Mr.—xii^d.
- 1558. Item delyver'd to Mr Scholem^r. at playes—
iv^s. ix^d.
- 1566. Item paid Mr Scholemaster towards his charges
about the playes laste Christmas—xx^s.

1567. Item, to Mr Scholemaster for his charge setting
furth II playes 19^o Martii—III li. XIII^s viii^d.
1569. Item spent this yeare in plaies and showes III dos-
sen viii pounce of candells—v^s vii^d.

NOTE B, p. 56.

“ A LIST OF ETON SCHOLARS IN 1678.”

[*From Rawlinson's MSS. (B. 266. 146.) in the Bodleian
Library.*]

6TH FORM.

James.	Offley.
Adams.	Ogden.
Edmonds.	Willis.
Blake.	Brabourne <i>maj.</i>

5TH FORM, *Collegers.*

Pagett.	Cannon <i>maj.</i>
Burrell.	Mullington.
Noyse.	Brabourne <i>min.</i>
Baston.	Palmer.
Davis.	Dwight.
Stephens.	Willis <i>min.</i>
Rutton.	Tath.
Norwood.	Cannon <i>min.</i>
Shipman.	Clarke.
Johnson <i>maj.</i>	

5TH FORM, *Oppidanes.*

Price (Sir John).	Dashwood (Sir Rob.)
Meers.	Bybee.
Perry.	Turner.
Biggs.	Baldwin.
Lamplugh.	Palmer <i>min.</i>
Pelham.	Gregory.
Lloyd <i>maj.</i>	Fulham.
Harwood <i>maj.</i>	Corsellis.
Fifield.	Powell <i>maj.</i>
James <i>min.</i>	

4TH FORM, *Collegers.*

Worthington.	Watkins <i>maj.</i>
Woodward.	Stills.
Whitton.	Rawson.
Asten <i>maj.</i> *	Cook.
Asten <i>min.</i>	Younger.
Glascock.	Preston.
Batty.	Davis.
Skinner.	Selwood.
Fenmore.	Coppleston.
Angelow <i>maj.</i>	Meale, <i>alias</i> Moile.
Angelow <i>min.</i>	Baxter.
Paxton.	Dwight <i>min.</i>
Christon.	Johnson <i>min.</i>
Staples.	

* Austen? See Regist. Regal. 1681.

4TH FORM, *Oppidans.*

Croker.	Woodecock.
Talmash.	Wells.
Powell <i>min.</i>	Mills.
Poyse (<i>or Poore, or Pope ?</i>) *	West.
Conway (Sir John).	Jebb.
Wetton.	Foster.
Harwood <i>min.</i>	Allen.
White.	Wild.
Watkins <i>min.</i>	Baynard.
Bety.	Cleas.
Hill.	Bowen.
Matson.	Lloyd <i>min.</i>
Frank.	Chennell.
Smisston.	Whistler.
Nurse.	Childe.
Meverall.	Bradwell.

3D FORM, *Collegers.*

Hawpey.	Pilkington.
Llewelling.	Davers.
Martin.	Cheasey.
Pain.	Cleaton.
Butterfield.	Burch.
Bayly.	Russell.
Hildesley.	Rendall.
Clinckard.	

* Illegible.

3D FORM, *Oppidans.*

Ld. Alexander.	Watts.
Conway <i>min.</i>	Bookey.
Cuerton (<i>or</i> Creston ?)	Colbourn.
Webb.	Cross.
Castell.	Yoldin.
Reeves.	Ransford.
Llangley.	Robason.
Underhill.	Stone.
Raymund (Sir Jemmatt).	Needham.
Goores <i>maj.</i>	Hatton.
Goores <i>min.</i>	Palling.
Benskin.	Man.
Angelow.	Rosewell.
Puliston (Sir Rod.)	Roots.
Hull.	Elliott.
Broome.	Harwood <i>min.</i>
Lutley.	Legg.
Eyers.	Young.
Veal.	Shorthouse.
Davis.	Dee.
Laggatt.	Lauly.
Moyle.	

2D FORM, *Collegers.*

Poole.	Andrews.
Crouch.	Berkinton.
Landers.	Hinton.
Coale.	Angelow <i>minim.</i>
Sleech.	

2D FORM, *Oppidans*.

Hull <i>min</i> .	Osburne <i>maj</i> .
Herone.	Osburne <i>min</i> .
Walsingham.	Hart.
Pinckerich.	Martin.
Raymund <i>minim</i> .	Sparks.
Boggs, <i>alias</i> Bogges.	Hull.
Feallowes.	Eyres.
Johnson <i>minim</i> .	Goores.
Coderington.	Jenny.
Littleton.	Chauncey.
Harding.	Michell.
Nowell.	Alexander <i>min</i> .
King.	

BIBLER'S SEAT*—Viner.

Number about 202.†

Franklin.	Gresham.
Buller.	Palmer.
Rogers.	Buckler.
Baston.	Buckly.
Fenwick.	

* The Bibler's office seems to have been to read a portion of Scripture in the hall at dinner. In the accounts for 1569 there is a charge "for making 11 half-paces in the hawle for the Bybelers to stand upon, &c."

† Sic: but there are only 198 names, exclusive of those below.

NOTE C, p. 82.

“VERSES BY LORD CARLISLE ON HIS SCHOOL-
FELLOWS.” From an MS.

[About 1762. The date is uncertain ; but all the names occur in a school-list of that year ; and Lord Offaly, the only one of his family who bore that title (spelt in the list “*Ophelia*”), died in 1765 : it is therefore almost certain that the verses were written while the boys were schoolfellows, and in that case the prophecy of Fox’s eminence is curious.]

In youth ’tis said you speedily may scan
Strong stamped the outlines of the future man ;
This maxim true, how bright will *St John*¹ shine,
Formed by the hand of all the tuneful Nine !
If not to careless indolence a prey,
How will whole nations listen to his lay !

¹ Hon. Mr
St John. (?)

Say, will *Fitzwilliam*² ever want a heart
Cheerful his ready blessings to impart ?
Will not another’s woe his bosom share,
The widow’s sorrows and the orphan’s prayer ?
Who aids the old, who soothes the mother’s cry,
Who wipes the tear from off the virgin’s eye ?
Who feeds the hungry ? who assists the lame ?
All, all re-echo with Fitzwilliam’s name ;
Thou know’st I hate to flatter—but in thee
No fault, my friend, no single speck I see.

² 4th Earl ;
Lord Fitz-
william in
Eton List.

Nor, if alike my former maxim’s true,
Shall e’er ill-nature tinge thy heart, *Buccleuch* !³
Shall deep remorse thy honest bosom tear,
Disdainful anger, or corroding care ?

³ 3d Duke.

Shall e'er ambition dissipate that smile,
 Disturb that heart, so free from every guile ?
 Sooner to Bute shall Temple bend the knee,
 And * * * * * or * * * * * pious Christians be !

⁴ Charles
 James.

How will, my *Fox*,⁴ alone thy strength of parts
 Shake the loud senate, animate the hearts
 Of fearful statesmen, while around thee stand
 Both Peers and Commons listening thy command ;
 While Tully's weight its sense to thee affords,
 His nervous sweetness shall adorn thy words ;
 What praise to Pitt, to Townshend e'er was due,
 In future times, my Fox, shall wait on you.

⁵ Uncertain.

Mild as the dew that whitens yonder plain
*Legge*⁵ shines serenest mid your youthful train ;
 He whom the search of Fame with rapture moves,
 Disdains the pedant, tho' the muse he loves ;
 By nature formed with modesty to please,
 And join with wisdom unaffected ease.

⁶ Earl of
 Offaly, eld.
 son of Marq.
 of Kildare
 (aft. 1st D.
 of Leinster),
 died 1765.

Will e'er *Offaly*,⁶ consciously unjust,
 Revoke his promise or betray his trust ?
 What tho' perhaps with warmer zeal he'd hear
 The echoing horn, the sportsman's hearty cheer,
 Than god-like Homer's elevated song,
 Loud as the torrent, as the billows strong ;
 Cast o'er this fault a friendly veil,—you'll find
 An upright, social, and ingenuous mind.

Witness, ye Naiads, and ye guardian powers
 That sit sublime on Henry's lofty towers,
 Witness, if e'er I saw thy open brow
 Sunk in despair, or saddened into woe,
 Well-natured *Stavordale*!⁷—the task is thine
 Foremost in pleasure's festive band to shine.
 Say, wilt thou pass alone the midnight hour,
 Studious the depths of Plato to explore?
 To lighter subjects shall thy soul give way,
 Nor heed what grave philosophers shall say?
 The god of mirth shall lift thee in his train,
 A cheerful vot'ry, and the foe of pain.

7 2d Earl of
 Ilchester.

Whether I *Storer*⁸ sing in hours of joy,
 When every look bespeaks the inward boy,
 Or when no more mirth wantons in his breast,
 And all the man appears in him confest,—
 In mirth, in sadness, sing him how I will,
 Sense and good-nature must attend him still.

8 Anthony
 Morris
 Storer.

NOTE D, p. 94.

[*From a Correspondent.*]

"Any record of Eton seems to me incomplete without some mention of Henry Knapp, sometime lower-master, and my excellent friend and tutor. He was an accurate and elegant scholar, and in working his pupils

enforced (as far as teaching and example could enforce it) fluent and vigorous construing. He had a wondrous facility for little classical *jeux d'esprit*. We were once lying on the bank at Medenham Abbey after a gypsy dinner, when he amused himself by turning the whole of 'Billy Taylor' into hexameters and pentameters. It was never committed to paper, and I only remember fragments, *e. g.*—

'Her lily-white hands were daubed all over
 With the nasty pitch and tar.'
 '*Nec puduit teneram maculasse bitumine dextram.*'
 'A gust of wind blew her jacket open,
 And all discovered her lily-white breast.'
 '*Aura tamen vestem nimis officiosa removit,
 Virgineique sinûs mox patulere nives.*'
 'Then she called for sword and pistol,
 Which did come at her command.'
 . . . '*ensem postulat—ensis adest.*'

"How perfectly Ovidian! and how far superior to Drury's version of the same lines in *Arundines Cami*! And this reminds me that Knapp's sportive vein was as happy in English as in Latin. A letter of his now lies before me, in which he says—'Have you seen the *Arundines Cami*? What a *labor ineptiarum*! a provost of Eton translating 'Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall!' I can fancy old Cam thus rebuking him:—

"No wreath of bays will I accord
 To deck your hoary hair;
 A pap-boat be your best reward,
 Or perforated chair.

“ Shall woods which drank sweet Mason's lay
 Rejoice in ‘ Cat and Fiddle ’ ?
 Can groves that heard enraptured Gray
 Respond to ‘ Diddle-diddle ’ ? ”

“ Sing not Bo-Peep at evening late
 In search of sheep that wander ;
 Try Shakespeare (if you *must* translate),
 Not ‘ Goosey, goosey, gander. ’

“ Shame on the Bard, who native force
 Of talent thus misuses,
 Makes Pegasus a rocking-horse,
 And nursemaids of the Muses. ”

“ Knapp's boys, as was to be expected, were ring-leaders in the playhouse. He had a pretty little theatre of his own at Ringstead in Northamptonshire, with some very clever actors ; and a favoured pupil or two never missed joining in the Christmas performances there. Ascot, likewise, generally brought to his table Mathews, Hook, Terry, Yates, Jamie Henderson, and other celebrities of the footlights,—not, however, including Edmund Kean, to whom (as I can assure Captain Gronow) he never spoke a word in his life. Then the occasional rattle up to London with him—(the phaeton waiting in the Slough road)—the Juliet—the Sir Giles—the Bedford—the broiled fowl and mushroom sauce—the Hounslow posters—and the return in time for six o'clock lesson—*O noctes cœnæque Deûm !* ”

A boy had once been sent away from Holt's house,

but for no moral delinquency, so far as was known, and he was allowed to be received into Mrs Angelo's. Knapp commemorated it as follows :—

“ Esuriens, sitiens, sed nullo crimine notus,
Appius * hospitio pellitur, Holte, tuo ;
Ut videt extorrem sexagenaria virgo,
Protinus *Angelici* additur ille choris.”

NOTE E, p. 113.

The following clever parody was written by W. M. Stone, the “ Marshal ” at the Montem of 1814, on an incident which occurred on that occasion :—

THE COCKNEYS AT MONTEM.

I.

HE that aright Salt Hill would ken
Should view it when adown the glen,
And o'er the crowded hill afar
Shines the blithe pomp of mimic war ;—
Where Eton's banner proudly flies,
And Phœbus' brightest ray is beaming,
On gay parterre and vista gleaming,
On glittering bloodless falchions streaming ;

* This name has been substituted for the real one.

And brighter yet beam Barnard's¹ eyes.
Four times two youths, fair and tall,
Waited the gallant Captain's call :
Three times two youths, tall and fair,
Stood beside the Marshal's chair :
 They sat at the meal
 All girded with steel,
And drank the red wine which the pages bare.

¹ The "Captain."

II.

The feast was o'er in the Windmill Inn,
And ceased of knives and forks the din :
The boys along the garden strayed,
With short curved dirk high brandished
Smote off the towering onion's head,
And made e'en doughty cabbage feel
The vengeance of their polish'd steel.

III.

'Twas then two Cockneys, tired of walking—
Tired of seeing, tired of talking—
With thirst and hunger almost dead,
The Windmill Inn door entered.
The inn was full, the waiters cross—
Each famished prentice at a loss ;
When from a room a youth appear'd,
His gills just blackening with a beard :
His silken hose, his buckles bright,
His scarlet garb, his small-clothes white,
 Proclaimed him boy of note ;

But he (I wot
'Cause it was hot)
Had doffed gay belt and puissant brand,
While dangled his unconscious hand
From his unbuttoned coat.
He came—he saw—resolved to save
The half-starved Cockneys from a grave ;
He bade the waiter bring some wine,
And asked them in his room to dine.
“Sirs, I’m ashamed of what I proffer,
What boys have left is all I offer,
The orts and relics of a feast—
Better than none—yet bad’s the best.”

IV.

“Sir, your politeness”—down they sat,
To chat and drink, to drink and chat ;
Twice twenty hundred words they spoke,
Twice twenty times each cut a joke,
Each his good story told ;
You would have said, to see them eat,
Two knights enjoyed ne’er such a treat
In Arthur’s hall of old.
When wit grew stale, ’twas then began
The younger brother Cockney-man ;
“Sir—for to all no doubt you’re known—
What say you to Field-Marshal Stone ?
What ? eh, you smile ? well, so do all
Who talk of this same Marischal :

I have not seen him, but a wit
Made on him such a clever hit—
I must, I must, sir, tell you it.”
The stranger begged he'd not decline,
And charged each empty glass with wine.

v.

THE HIT.

“ A Wellesley's rank—a tailor's state—
Napoleon's look—a barber's pate—
A lion's scowl—a monkey's pranks—
A Richard's gait—an Edward's shanks—
A corpse 'twere mercy to call thin,
Propp'd on two stumps of bone and skin ;
Put these together, and you'll own
You've a just view of Marshal Stone.”
“ Yes,” cries the other, “ as the kite
That hears the pigeon's distant flight,
So burn I, all impatience grown,
To see this bastard Wellington.”

VI.

“ Have then thy wish !” a sword uptook
The Eton stranger from a nook ;
Then from a Windsor seat he gat
A feather-crownèd General's hat :
A silken sash he donn'd in haste,
A golden belt begirt his waist ;

Each arm was cased in gauntlets white,
And Eton's truncheon deck'd his right ;
Then with a smile each cit he eyed,
And, bowing most politely, cried—
“ These are those stumps of skin and bone,
And, Cockneys—I am MARSHAL STONE ! ”

NOTE F.

(From a Correspondent.)

“ Was Balston right in so peremptorily rejecting the modern languages for Eton, when under examination by the Commissioners? I dare not give an opinion ; we know full well their indispensable necessity to every gentleman moving in the world ; but the serious difficulty arises, ‘ Who is to teach them ? ’ If a Frenchman, he must be an Anglicised one ; if an Englishman, a Frenchified one ; and schoolboys are sturdy rebels against foreigners. I remember my poor friend Bullock saying to me, ‘ Ah, old fellow ! what capital Frenchmen we should have been, if we had spent half the time in learning French at Eton that we did in mimicking Berthomier ! ’ The idea of teaching French (except grammatically) by an Englishman, appears to me simply absurd. Then the jealousy of the classical masters would hardly admit of extra teachers being placed on the same elevation with themselves. The

writing-master in my time was a Mr Hexter, who combined with this office the somewhat incongruous honours of a magistrate for the county, a 'major' (in the Middlesex militia, I believe), and a 'Dominie' at Eton. This gentleman once applied for an interview with Provost Goodall, and, after stating his views and pretensions, finished by requesting permission to wear a gown, and that the boys should 'shirk' him. With his blandest smile, Giuseppe Il Magnifico replied, 'Well, Major Hexter, as to wearing a gown, do as *you* like; as to the boys shirking you, let *them* do as *they* like.' Nor, moreover, is it at all clear that that criterion of foreign accomplishment, Prince Albert's prize, always goes in the intended and hoped-for direction. It was never meant that the sons of foreigners, or of Englishmen constantly resident abroad—still less the sons of mothers blest in the possession of French ladies'-maids—should walk off with the Prince Consort's prize. No doubt, as Byron says—

' 'Tis pleasing to be schooled in a strange tongue
By female lips and eyes ;'

but this is not the grammar by the study of which the Prince intended the honours of modern languages to be won. And may it not be worth while to inquire whether, for a little history, a little French, a little chemistry, a little geometry, it is worth while to jeopardise the classical fame of this great school, and whether additional surface of knowledge may not be too dearly purchased by diminution of its depth ? ”

NOTE G, p. 110.

There was a rebellion at Eton in the year 1768, said to have been occasioned by Dr Foster's appointment to the head-mastership. Very little record of it seems to have been preserved, but it must have been of a somewhat serious nature, to judge from the following memorandum in the possession of the Rev. J. C. B. Riddell—

"Bill at Maidenhead Bridge for the entertainment of the boys concerned in the Eton Rebellion, 2d Nov. 1768 :—

Beer for dinner,	.	.	.	.	£1	2	6
Wine and punch, &c.,	.	.	.	.	6	18	6
Dinners, coffee, tea, &c., supper and break-							
fast, at 5s. a-head,	.	.	.	.	50	0	0
Beer at supper,	.	.	.	.	0	18	6
Wine and punch,	.	.	.	.	5	14	9
Fires,	.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Cards,	.	.	.	.	0	4	0
					<hr/>		
					£65	18	3

Nov. 2d and 3d, 1768."

Before the secession to Maidenhead, the rebels are said to have thrown away their schoolbooks, by unanimous consent, over Windsor Bridge—all except Thomas Grenville, who would not part with his 'Homer.' There existed at this date, amongst the "officers of the College," one who bore the ominous title of "Pursuivant of Runaways;" his name was "Jack Cutler," and he had four "assistants"—not at all too many, if their services were called into requisition on this occasion.

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